AMBASSADOR COLLEGE LIBRARY
Display Copy

APRIL 27, 1987 • $1.95

THE BUSINESS OF BASEBALL

Henry Fairlie: Sin and the Televangelists

EPSTEIN-BARR, THE YUPPIE PLAGUE • THE GULF WAR: TIME TO HELP IRAQ

THE NEW REPUBLIC

SECRETARY SMARTY-PANTS

WILLIAM BENNETT OF EDUCATION

BY JOHN JUDIS

AMBASSADOR COLLEGE
300 W GREEN ST LIBRARY
PASADENA CA 91129
16#PV
1988
300316 SAB A0000090 H458 SEP19
***********3-DIGIT 911

17
7887445

©JWONG 1987

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Issues of the Information Age:

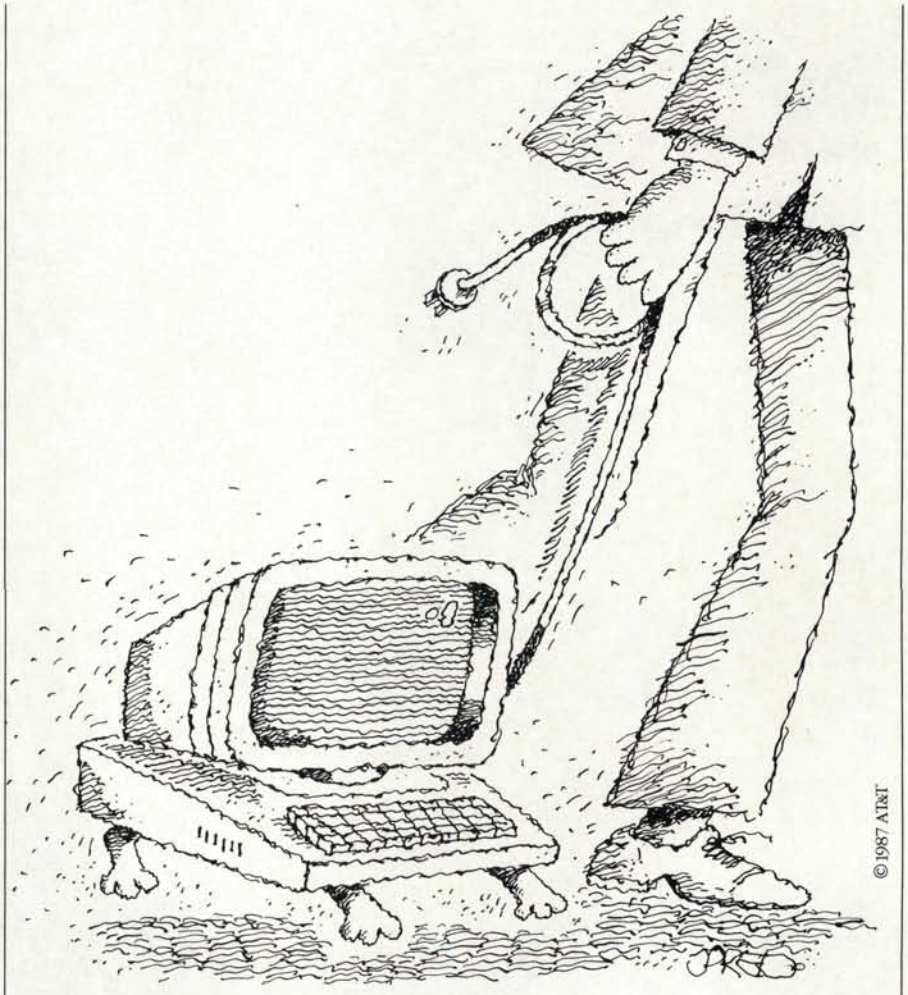
The paradox of power.

The Information Age, for all its potential, has brought with it a new kind of problem. Often, the machines that contribute so much to the flood of information do little to help most of us cope with it. They are difficult to use, rigid in their demands, almost arrogant in their inability to work with any but their own kind. They are the muscle-bound tools of specialists.

In our view, the problem is not that the machines are too powerful for the rest of us. They are not powerful enough.

This is the paradox of power: the more powerful the machine, the less power it exerts over the person using it. We define a more powerful machine as one that is more capable of bending to the will of humans, rather than having humans bend to its will. The definition is deeply ingrained in AT&T. The telephone is such a powerful device precisely because it demands so little of its user.

AT&T foresees the day when the Information Age will become universal. People everywhere will participate in a worldwide Telecommunity. They will be able to handle information in any form—conversation, data, images, text—as easily as they now make a phone call.



© 1987 AT&T

That day is coming closer. One example: scientists at AT&T Bell Laboratories are developing "associative" memories for computers, further enabling the machines to work with incomplete, imprecise, or even contradictory information. That's perfectly natural for a human. What makes it a breakthrough is that these computers won't ask you to be anything else.

Telecommunity is our goal. Technology is our means.℠

We are committed to leading the way.

AT&T

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

FOUNDED 1914 — *A Weekly Journal of Opinion* — ISSUE 3,771

WASHINGTON, D.C. — APRIL 27, 1987

Editor-in-Chief and Chairman
MARTIN PERETZ

Editor
MICHAEL KINSLEY
Literary Editor
LEON WIESELTIER
Senior Editors
FRED BARNES, ANN HULBERT,
MORTON KONDRACKE, CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER
Managing Editor
DOROTHY WICKENDEN
Associate Editors
JEFFERSON MORLEY, CHARLES LANE,
LOUIS MENAND
New Republic Books Editor
(Basic Books)
STEVE WASSERMAN
Films — *Theater*
STANLEY KAUFFMANN — ROBERT BRUSTEIN
Music — *Poetry*
EDWARD ROTHSTEIN — RICHARD HOWARD
Art
MARK STEVENS
Economics Correspondent
ROBERT KUTTNER
Contributing Editors
ROBERT COLES, HENRY FAIRLIE,
JAMES K. GLASSMAN, HENDRIK HERTZBERG,
JOHN KEEGAN, VINT LAWRENCE,
R.W.B. LEWIS, MARK CRISPIN MILLER,
ROBERT B. REICH, MAGGIE SCARF,
RONALD STEEL, RICHARD L. STROUT,
E. V. THAW, ANNE TYLER,
NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN, MICHAEL WALZER,
C. VANN WOODWARD
West Coast Correspondent
MICKEY KAUS
Editorial-Corporate Coordinator
LAURA E. OBOLENSKY
Assistant to the Editors
ELISABETH BRANDNER
Production Manager
BRUCE STEINKE
Copy Editor
LEONA HIRAOKA ROTH
Assistant Literary Editor
JENNIFER KRAUSS
Production Associate
KAREN A. WATKINS
Reporter-Researchers
CROCKER COULSON,
SARAH HELMSTADTER, JEFFREY L. PASLEY

President and Publisher
JEFFREY L. DEARTH
Associate Publisher
JOAN M. STAPLETON
Circulation Director
TOM HICKS
Controller
JEAN GANDY
Advertising Manager
JENNIFER BARRETT
Circulation Manager
PATTY JONES
Accounting Manager
MARIA F. SALATTI
Circulation Assistant
KRISTIN CONRADI
Advertising Assistant
DARLENE BUSCAGLIO
Accounting Assistant
CHRISTINA R. OVERHOLSER
Back Issues and Reception
JENNIFER WILLIAMS
Corporate Marketing
GUY STODDARD
Leadership Network Advertising
ROBERT F. SENNOTT JR.

4 **CORRESPONDENCE** ..... On Springsteen, Pakistan, &c.

7 **THE EDITORS** ..... TRADEAMOK
Is Reagan's salvo against Japan the Smoot-Hawley tariff of the next depression?
NOTEBOOK
Kirkpatrick asks America first &c.

8 **CHARLES PAUL FREUND** ..... THE ZEITGEIST CHECKLIST

10 **FRED BARNES** ..... WHITE HOUSE WATCH: PRESIDENTIAL AIDS
The making of a political issue.

13 **ROBERT BAZELL** ..... SCIENCE AND SOCIETY: YUPPIE PLAGUE
The Epstein-Barr virus turns the young and the restless into the young and the listless.

14 **DANIEL PIPES AND LAURIE MYLROIE** ..... BACK IRAQ
Why Iran's enemy should be America's friend.

16 **JOHN B. JUDIS** ..... MISTER ED
William Bennett brought vision and energy to the Education Department. But lately politics and press clips have started to replace his intellectual passions.

20 **JEFFREY L. PASLEY** ..... NOT-SO-GOOD BOOKS
What high school history texts don't say about the role of religion in American life.

22 **HENRY FAIRLIE** ..... EVANGELISTS IN BABYLON
Jim Bakker, Oral Roberts, and the wages of sin.

26 **STANLEY KAUFFMANN** ..... ON FILMS: HANOI AND ELSEWHERE
Hanoi Hilton distorts; *Blind Date* disappoints.

28 **ANDREW DELBANCO** ..... TRANSCENDENTAL TEXTS
The Renewal of Literature: Emersonian Reflections by Richard Poirier

32 **MICHAEL ISIKOFF** ..... BOWIE AT THE BAT
Hardball: The Education of a Baseball Commissioner by Bowie K. Kuhn

33 **CONSTANCE URDANG** ..... POEM *Robert's Friends*

36 **ROBERT ENGLISH** ..... BRIDGE UNDER TROUBLED WATERS
Running Critical: The Silent War, Rickover, and General Dynamics by Patrick Tyler

40 **DONALD FANGER** ..... TURNING POINT
Dostoevsky: The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865 by Joseph Frank

43 **CAMBRIDGE DIARIST** ..... ELOGE

COVER by Jeff Wong for THE NEW REPUBLIC. Article on page 16. TRB From Washington will return next week.

THE NEW REPUBLIC, Vol. 196, Number 17, Issue 3,771, April 27, 1987. (Printed on April 8, 1987.) Published weekly (except for combined issues dated Jan. 5 & 12, July 13 & 20, Aug. 10 & 17, and Sept. 14 & 21, 1987) at 1220 19th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036. Telephone (202) 331-7494. Leadership Network advertising (212) 684-5500. Yearly subscriptions, $56; foreign, $81; Canada, $70. Back issues, $2.50 (includes postage & handling).

©1987 by The New Republic, Inc.

(ISSN 0028-6583). Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and additional mailing offices. Indexed in Readers' Guide, Media Review Digest. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms Intnl., 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106 and Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, OH 44691. Member, Audit Bureau of Circulations. Unsolicited manuscripts can be returned only if accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope. **Subscribers:** Please send all remittances, changes of address, and subscription inquiries to **Subscription Service Dept., The New Republic, P.O. Box 56515, Boulder, CO 80322.** For subscription problems call **800-525-0643.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CORRESPONDENCE

SPRINGSTEEN'S USA

To the editors:
Jefferson Morley is correct in saying that Bruce Springsteen has been assimilated so totally into the mainstream of pop music that most people forget to listen to exactly what he says ("Darkness on the Edge of the Shining City," March 23). But to stretch Springsteen's oeuvre into a treatise on contemporary American political reality does a disservice to his status as a creative artist.

It's wrong to frame Springsteen's politics solely as Washington knows politics. His politics resides where all of rock 'n' roll's politics resides—in the politics of subversion. By drawing us in with artistic empathy, Springsteen wants the audience to find an epiphany, and catharsis and redemption. That's, after all, what the blues are meant for. Springsteen understands intuitively the fabric of a society torn by the tribulations of the last two decades and uses that knowledge to create his art.

MERVYN M. KEIZER JR.
Washington, D.C.

To the editors:
Jefferson Morley cites the simultaneous appearance of Springsteen on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* in the mid-'70s as saying "less about Springsteen's mass popularity" than it does about the appeal he had to critics and corporate execs, as evidenced by the fact that his first two albums were "commercial duds." Granted, that paroxysm of media exposure was a landmark in the history of hype; but it would have seemed more reasonable had Morley mentioned the fact that it *followed* the release of "Born to Run"—Springsteen's highly successful third album.

TOM DALEY
Marshfield, Vermont

PAKISTAN PALLIATIVE

To the editors:
Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a man of great intelligence, but he did not believe in democracy ("The Perils of Pakistan," by Mahnaz Ispahani, March 16). He separated from the Indian National Congress on the grounds that in a democratic India Hindus would dominate over the Muslims because of their numerical strength. That was his concept of democracy. The partition was brought about against the wishes of many nationalist Muslim and Hindu leaders.

Ispahani makes a passing reference to India as a democratic country, but fails to make a reference to the three wars Pakistan waged against India. These wars were the result of the internal trouble Pakistan was facing. The disintegration of Pakistan was due to the hegemony of the Punjabis. "Who can heal Pakistan's wounds?" The question should not be limited to Pakistan. It should be asked who will heal the wounds of the Muslim states that believe in an Islamic republic. These states have to give up the medieval philosophy of Islam and change over to democracy and secularism, or there will not be any progress.

GOPAL GOKHLAY
West New York, New Jersey

REVIEWING RACISM

To the editors:
C. Vann Woodward turns reality on its head when he says, in his review of *Writings* by W. E. B. Du Bois ("The Black and the Red," March 16): "Racism [is] implicit in the discriminatory indignation of white Americans. Rightly outraged by . . . black casualties inflicted by white troops . . . in South Africa, Americans appear unconcerned about hundreds of thousands of black casualties of black governments."

Unconcerned? With media that besiege us daily with horror stories from South Africa does Mr. Woodward honestly believe that mainstream America even knows of such brutality by radical black governments? If the *New York Times* can eulogize Samora Machel as a "pragmatic" leader without any mention of his "re-education" camps, where are Americans to learn of them? As for "discriminatory indignation," it's more attributable to pseudo-liberals such as Ted Kennedy and black leaders such as Jesse Jackson and Ron Dellums, who, in the name of liberalism and democracy, cast their lots with anti-democratic regimes such as the "Frontline States" and the Castroite *comandantes* in Nicaragua.

THOMAS DE MARTINO
Newark, New Jersey

ANTIPARLIAMENTARIANISM

To the editors:
Mickey Kaus, in "No Confidence" (March 23), writes, "If the United States were a parliamentary democracy, the Reagan government would have already collapsed in a 'no confidence' vote." True enough. But the Reagan administration would also have already enjoyed six years of stern party discipline. With the power of the whip behind renegades such as Lowell Weicker and Charles Mathias, Republicans might have dismantled much of the welfare state, abolished a lion's share of meddlesome regulatory bodies, and enacted constitutional amendments on abortion and school prayer before Mr. Kaus got the satisfaction of seeing the government fall. Democrats, on the other hand, would have been relegated to playing the largely symbolic role of the loyal opposition. While they might be able to cause minor embarrassment at Question Time, most of their energy would have been expended in shuffling their shadow cabinet about and reeling in the loony-left local councils of Berkeley and Cambridge.

CAMERON FINDLAY
Somerville, Massachusetts

BANISHED FROM 'EDEN'

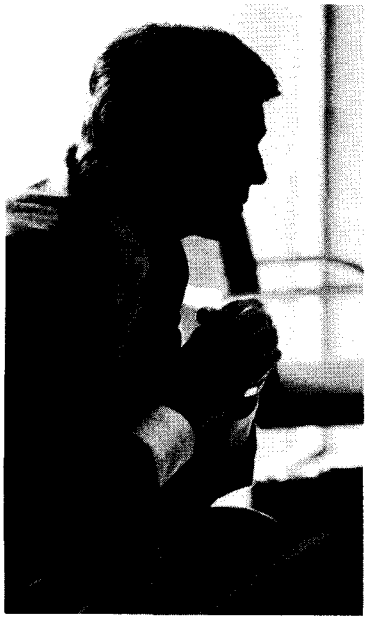
To the editors:
I am glad that Barbara Probst Solomon read the original Hemingway manuscripts of *The Garden of Eden* at the Kennedy Library ("Where's Papa?" March 9). Some 40 pages into the book it became apparent that an editor had banished the Old Adam from the Garden, had killed the Lizard.

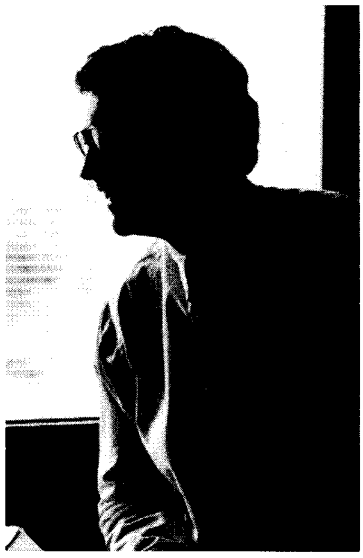
Somewhat the same thing happened to one of William Faulkner's early novels. Horace Liveright didn't want to publish the novel. When Faulkner wouldn't cut it, Ben Wasson, Faulkner's agent and friend, did the cutting, and it was published as *Sartoris*. Faulkner never gave up on the original manuscript. Finally in 1973, Random House published it as he'd written it under the title of *Flags in the Dust*. Curiously enough, I saw only one review of the original—in THE NEW REPUBLIC, September 8, 1973. It was as if there were a silent conspiracy afoot by "the knowing in New York" not to admit they could be wrong, that they knew better than the author. But it's up to a "good" editor to understand what the author might have been up to in just those parts the editor doesn't get.

FREDERICK MANFRED
Luverne, Minnesota

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"I was giving a seminar on network management in Atlanta. My topic was making SNA work without IBM. Anyway, the room was filled with MIS guys who didn't believe it could happen and they wondered why I was there. And so I showed them it has happened with one of the biggest SNA networks in the world and I spelled it out. No IBM mainframe...no IBM controllers...no IBM screens on the desks...no IBM iron anywhere. What's there instead? In the center, five IBM look-alike mainframes and a Wang VS. Plus, a VS computer at each node... hundreds of them...and thousands of our workstations...covering the whole country. **One network. And the whole thing...the entire network...managed by the Wang VS—I didn't even have to talk to them about all the applications they were running. I just said, 'This, ladies and gentlemen, is how Wang can make standards work for you and bring your network alive today.'** AND...blink...blink... blink. I could practically see the lightbulbs go on over their heads."





WANG MAKES IT WORK.

Give us a day to make it work for you. Call Wang's Federal Systems Division Executive Briefing Center in Bethesda, where Gene Shugoll's organization can create a customized demonstration, showing how Wang can make your computers and your organization work better. Now and in the future. They can also provide additional examples of how Wang made it work for other government organizations. Call them at **1-800-522-WANG.**

© 1987 Wang Laboratories, Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Don't fly without guarantees.

1.

We guarantee you will make your connecting flight in Germany.

Because we're punctual, you're punctual, too. That's why we guarantee you won't miss your connecting flight to destinations within Germany or to more than 130 Lufthansa destinations worldwide.

But if you happen to miss a connecting flight because of an operational problem we're responsible for, we'll not only put you on the next available flight, we'll compensate you with $200.00.

This guarantee excludes delays such as weather or air traffic control problems affecting your arrival.

2.

We guarantee your baggage will arrive with you.

We guarantee that when you land at your final Lufthansa destination, your luggage will be there, too.

If by chance it's not, we'll pay you $200.00 over and above any legal claim.

3.

We guarantee you will have a seat in the class you booked.

At Lufthansa, we stand behind our seating reservations. So if you have a confirmed reservation in First or Business Class on a transatlantic flight, you're guaranteed seating in that class. If your confirmed reservation in First Class is unavailable, you'll fly Business Class at no charge.

And if your confirmed reservation in Business Class is unavailable, you'll be upgraded to First Class at no charge. But if First Class is also full, you'll fly Tourist Class for free. You must, naturally, adhere to published minimum check-in times.

General Conditions:
Guarantees apply to Business and First Class passengers only. Trips must originate, be booked and ticketed in U.S. All flights, including connecting flights, must be on Lufthansa. Claims must be made in writing in U.S. within 60 days of date of occurrence. Subject to government approval. This guarantee program may be terminated at any time without further notice.

If you want more details about our guarantees, write to Lufthansa German Airlines, Dept. UX 12, 6 Cherry Valley Terminal Road, West Hempstead, NY 11552.

Lufthansa
German Airlines

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC
APRIL 27, 1987

TRADEAMOK

A state of relative calm has returned to the securities and currency markets. But the panic after President Reagan imposed protectionist sanctions against Japan on March 30 lent an unsettling plausibility to fears that the world financial system can't handle its wildly out-of-whack trade and capital flows. Will the Reagan tariff go down in history as the Smoot-Hawley Act of the next Depression? Whether or not you think a financial collapse is at hand, there's every reason to take the markets' warning seriously. It's our government's cue to quit dithering and do what's necessary to put the American and world economies back on a stable course.

President Reagan and Congress will have to level with the American middle class about the costs. No one is eager to do that, because it would interrupt the pleasant free luncheon Americans are currently enjoying. The United States is running a $170 billion annual trade deficit. We are consuming more than we produce, and foreign countries are financing it. We don't have to defer gratification ourselves (personal savings were just 2.5 percent of after-tax income in the last three months of 1986) because we are living off the savings of Germans and Japanese—which lets us keep buying goods from Germans and Japanese.

These countries are perfectly happy to keep performing this service, as long as they can get a higher return on U.S. Treasury bills, stocks, factories, or real estate than they can by investing in other currencies. The only catch is that supporting America's free-spending habit won't be attractive indefinitely. In fact, private foreign investment is no longer growing fast enough to keep pace with our financing needs. From 1981 to 1985 private foreign investors bought all the dollars traded on world markets. In 1986 foreign governments had to step in and buy $32 billion, and they've been intervening even more this year. They can't do that forever without damage to their own economies. Yet if foreign dollar-buyers decide to slow down, or quit altogether, we would have to raise interest rates to make them change their minds—which would lead to a recession. The recent hike in the prime rate by major New York banks may be a sign that this process is already under way.

As the economist Herbert Stein likes to observe, anything that cannot go on forever will stop. America spending more than it produces cannot go on forever. We cannot increase production fast enough to balance this equation. At some point, probably soon, we as a society—individual consumers, business investors, the government—will have to spend less. The only question is how.

Method #1: Protectionism. The promise of a richer America through economic nationalism is the biggest fraud of all. (Clearly the markets aren't falling for it.) Protectionism inevitably means a lower standard of living for American consumers. It drives cheap foreign goods out of the market, and keeps higher priced domestic goods in. That raises the overall level of prices, taking resources from relatively efficient and competitive businesses in order to prop up relatively inefficient ones. Low-income Americans suffer the most. Under the Multi-Fiber Arrangement, for example, the American textile industry divvies up the U.S. market with Japan, Taiwan, and a few select others. This shuts

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out cheaper goods from poor countries such as Bangladesh and the Philippines, thus propping up a relative handful of U.S. textile workers by denying a poor American the right to buy a cheap shirt from an even poorer Filipino. According to the World Bank, import restrictions on the books in 1984 were equivalent to as much as a 66 percent income tax surcharge on the poorest Americans—but only a five percent surcharge on the richest.

Method #2: A cheaper dollar. Its recent protectionist tilt notwithstanding, the heart of the Reagan administration's strategy is to get higher growth in Japan and West Germany. Just as we are consuming more than we produce, Japan and West Germany are producing more than they consume. If they consumed more, presumably some of their additional spending would go to buy American exports, and also more of the products they now export to us. The administration is trying to make our allies grow faster by allowing the dollar to decline further in value relative to their currencies. A drop in the value of our currency strikes terror in German and Japanese hearts, because it raises the prices of their goods in the United States and lowers the prices of competing American goods abroad.

Whether the Germans and Japanese like it or not, a cheaper dollar would be a necessary component of any plan to ease our trade deficit. But there's no point in pretending that a cheap dollar, and the faster growth abroad it would supposedly achieve, is a painless solution to the trade deficit. Making imports more expensive in an import-gobbling society means lower standards of living for everybody. The cheap-dollar drag on living standards figures to persist for years, given how large the trade deficit is already and how long it will take to reduce it.

The risks of a further decline have probably been understated, and the benefits oversold. The chief risk of going further than we already have is that too fast a drop could trigger a pullout of foreign capital from U.S. investments, which would mean higher interest rates and a recession here. As for the benefits, U.S. exports stand to make only

THE ZEITGEIST CHECKLIST

BY CHARLES PAUL FREUND

This Week		Last Week	Weeks on Chart
1.	MERCHANT MARINES	4	2
2.	OVER THE HILL	2	2
3.	STERN REACTION	*	6
4.	THE POPE'S DIVISIONS	—	1
5.	RUNNING A RIGHT SLANT	6	7
6.	WHITE HOUSE AIDS	*	13
7.	THROWING PITCHES	—	1
8.	CORY AGONISTES	—	1
9.	DISTANT THUNDER	—	1
10.	GOGH-GETTERS	—	1

Embassy fiasco. All the American criticism arising from the Moscow embassy circus is self-directed. At fault are an unheeding ambassador, our use of unmarried Marines, an unwary State Department, etc. Hostility to the Soviets is negligible, despite Gerasimov's taunting jokes. And take a look at *People* magazine's "salute" to the Russians, out the very same week.

Rebuilding Reagan. The "third term" honeymoon is over, and not just because of the defeat on the highway bill. Coverage of Reagan is settling around his presidential lacunae. An admission while in Canada that he hadn't been keeping up on the Moscow situation made the networks, as did his clutch at a press conference; Mulroney had to play Nancy and bail him out.

Baby Stern. When this case surfaced, sympathy lay with the icon of the barren woman. That's changed. "Maternal instinct," a dormant notion, has reasserted itself. Publication of the Stern-Whitehead contract was a turning point; many were appalled by its dehumanizing legalisms. This is a lesson for those who think advancing technology will alter basic social patterns. It won't.

Chile. Pinochet was never a big public bogeyman in the U.S., thanks to his anti-communism and to widespread public indifference to things Latin American. Now, though, he seems to have run out of public apologists—even the Moonie media have dismissed him. The pope's visit played here like a moral invasion.

1988. Kemp's in the game. In fact, he's been there for years, though without yet showing signs of transcending his hard-core conservative support. Most interesting is how Kemp goes out of his way to tie himself to Reagan. Though it certainly positions him, it flagrantly violates the truism that Reagan's popularity is almost entirely personal.

AIDS. The word "AIDS" has finally passed the president's lips. Reagan defensively responded to charges that his government is indifferent to the disease. A public defense, via talk shows, of federal policy was also made by government research scientists. AIDS is now a national political issue, though the disease has so thoroughly permeated the national consciousness that crossing this threshold got little notice.

Dwight Gooden. The impact of the Gooden affair is not on sports figures as role models for the young but on sports figures as endorsers of commercial products. Advertisers are demanding to know whether their highly paid pitchmen are taking drugs. Being a role model for kids may be nice, but being a role model for products is important.

Aquino. The bloom is coming off Cory's reformist rose. Negative reports—vigilante armies, torture, land-reform foot-dragging—are stacking up. These haven't yet coalesced into an anti-Aquino press, but soon.

Qaddafi. Given the enormity of Qaddafi's bogeyman media role only a year ago, it is astonishing how relatively little interest has been shown in his Chad debacle. He's been written off. Events in the last year have revealed his earlier media status to have been preposterously inflated—by the West—all along.

Auctions. A van Gogh sells for $40 million, but the Windsor jewels are the better story. Americans' slavish Anglophilia—this time transforming the Duke and Mrs. Simpson's marriage into "the romance of the century"—has the British guffawing yet again.

*Item resurfaces in the Zeitgeist after at least one week's absence.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minor gains from greater German and Japanese consumption. Moreover, it's far from clear that our trading partners can be made to do our bidding. The companies and workers who make products for the U.S. market have become politically powerful interest groups in their own countries (more or less the mirror images of the unions and industries clamoring for protection here). We might as well face the fact that anything that really solves our trade deficit will cause political problems for foreign leaders.

Method #3: Inflation. Both protectionism and a declining dollar raise the prospect of higher inflation. Inflation is not without its allure. Our foreign debt is denominated in our own currency. That gives us the option of printing more money and paying our foreign creditors back in pieces of paper that represent less real purchasing power than the ones they loaned us.

But the allure is false. Inflation is no escape from the lower-spending imperative. The only difference is that the reduction in our standard of living would take place in an even more economically demoralizing fashion. Inflation is promiscuously redistributive, arbitrarily creating winners and losers throughout the economy—although its surest victims would be the poor. It would discourage long-term planning, saving, and investment. And as a debt-relief plan, it would wind up being self-defeating anyway. Foreign investors would only fall for the inflationary ruse briefly, if at all, then flee the worthless dollar in droves. That would exacerbate the problem of paying for our excess spending (even if it did reduce the amount we were paying on previous borrowings).

Method #4: Recession. This is the worst cure, and the one which no one advocates openly. But recession is how our accounts will be brought into balance if we don't choose a wiser alternative. It could come as a result of the Fed's tightening up on the money supply in response to inflation or the threat of inflation. Or we may simply drift into a recession, as the dollar declines, foreign investors put their money elsewhere, and we are forced to raise interest rates. The human tragedy and economic waste would, of course, be tremendous. (Again, the poor would inevitably be hardest hit.) And the daunting short-term job of coping with a recession would mean deferring the deeper readjustments, many painful in their own right, that we need to carry out in order to make ourselves more competitive.

Method #5: The right way. Protectionism, a cheaper dollar, recession, and inflation all have one thing in common. They would achieve the unavoidable reduction in American spending in an essentially uncontrolled, broad-stroke manner, letting the costs fall where they may (usually on those least able to bear them), and reaping benefits as they happen to crop up.

By comparison, cutting the federal budget deficit—painful though it will be—is fair, rational, and efficient. The deficit represents government borrowing on the credit of future generations to finance the purchases of the current generation—so reducing it would mean lower consumption for Americans. Apart from cuts in defense spending, which have already been imposed, there are only two serious ways to reduce the deficit: higher taxes, and lower spending on entitlement programs such as Social Security and farm subsidies.

Why would a tax hike coupled with less spending on entitlements be fairer? The tax code contains plenty of mechanisms for protecting low-income people from the burdens of higher taxes on their income or spending for necessities (if we adopt an energy tax). Beneficiaries of Social Security and farm supports are mostly middle-class Americans (or even wealthier ones). These programs help them at the expense of payroll taxpayers and grocery buyers who are often poorer than they.

As for efficiency, because of less consumption the economy would probably slow down if the government takes more taxes and gives out smaller checks. But the impact won't be as bad as if we were simply to drift into a recession. In the latter case, a bigger portion of the reduction in current spending would come out of investment, which would deprive the economy of the resources it needs to modernize and become more competitive. Cutting the deficit, by contrast, would protect the nation's pool of investable savings. Sure, it won't be much fun. But any politician who tells you that there's a cost-free way out of the current economic bind, or that we can put the costs off on foreign countries, is just not telling the truth.

NOTEBOOK

□ POT AND KETTLE: As Hirsh Goodman noted in these pages last week ("Pretoria Connection"), Israel's trade with South Africa—which rightly has come under scrutiny in a recent Reagan administration report to Congress—is less than the trade of many other countries, including the United States and several black African nations. There are extenuating circumstances for the African nations—and for Israel, too. Still, the Congressional Black Caucus, which serves as part of the Africa lobby on Capitol Hill, seems intent on a special stigma for Israel. In responding to Israel's decision to bar new military sales to South Africa, Representative Charles Rangel of New York patronizingly said that it was only "a first step" and demanded that Jerusalem "must sever its ties with South Africa completely." The military equipment Israel sold to South Africa was never crucial to the propping up of apartheid—which cannot be said of the weapons sold by our NATO allies or, for that matter, of the high-tech gear supplied by U.S.-based multinationals. When, just to make some moral ends meet, will Rangel and his colleagues make it clear that black Africa cannot satisfy the imperative of isolating the apartheid regime simply by hectoring others?

□ THAT'S THE WAY IT IS: We wonder how the hundreds who've lost their jobs during the current turmoil at CBS reacted to the news that Thomas H. Wyman, who was fired as chairman, got a settlement of $4.3 million plus $400,000 a year for life plus other perks. We're in general

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sympathy with the notion that corporate America needs a rigorous restructuring to compete in the world, and that protecting all current jobs cannot be the paramount consideration. Yet it's typical that Wyman, who presumably was responsible for the excesses and mismanagement that disturbed CBS's new leaders, should be so handsomely provided for, while the innocent victims of the new austerity must make do with little more than a sincere apology. If eggs are to be broken, the resulting omelet should be more equitably shared.

□ TWENTY QUESTIONS: "Have American economic power and governmental authority so eroded that the United States has truly lost the ability to hold its own in the international sphere? Is the Soviet Union under Gorbachev really in control of the international agenda? Has the United States lost control of its own priorities to the new leadership of the Kremlin? Is this why the administration and Congress so often sound as though they believe arms are the source, not the symptom, of international conflict? What of the proud and still-powerful nations of Western Europe? Are they willing to have their security negotiated—over their heads—by the United States and the Soviet Union? Have they no items to place on the European security agenda? Are these democracies really ready to risk their security on an escalating game of 'arms-control chicken' in which each dares the other to risk more to prove his commitment to arms reductions? Why is the United States ready, at this time of strain on the alliance, to make its own decisions and commitments with potentially momentous consequences for NATO members? Why doesn't Ronald Reagan meet his good friends in the Western alliance—in Washington or elsewhere—for serious discussions at the highest level about our mutual security? It would be important to all of us to know the considered views of Western leaders."—from a recent syndicated column by Jeane Kirkpatrick.

□ THE EMPEROR'S NEW GARMENT:

"What are we to make . . . of the carefully orchestrated campaign by McFarlane and his lawyer, Leonard Garment, to market McFarlane's suicide attempt for public consumption? . . . [T]his is surely a new low in the cynical Washington art of 'spin control.' "—Notebook ("This Bud's For You"), TNR, March 30.

"[McFarlane] has given only one radio interview, one newspaper interview, and one television interview. He has done so because his role remains crucial to the nation's understanding of an ongoing political crisis."—letter by Leonard Garment, TNR, April 13.

"Garment . . . says the [Barbara Walters interview] was a success because it built support for his client: 'People say why would he do that, getting so personal. Well, it's an effort to create sympathy. . . . Of course it's p.r.'. . . Garment responds angrily to the [TNR] criticism. 'What do they know, the fools?' he demands. 'That's not spin control, that's using what's available to you.' "—*American Lawyer*, April issue.

WHITE HOUSE WATCH

PRESIDENTIAL AIDS

PRESIDENT REAGAN gets a furrowed brow when the subject of AIDS comes up in a casual conversation at the White House. And it comes up often, particularly at the Monday issues luncheons attended by Reagan and a dozen of his top advisers. When Patrick Buchanan was around as communications director, he used to raise the subject. Now Gary Bauer, the president's adviser on domestic policy, brings it up nearly every week. Reagan expresses vague concern about AIDS victims and about the possible spread of the disease. "If somebody's got a sickness they could hurt somebody else with," the president commented at one issues lunch, "we should do something about it."

That's a nice sentiment, but it doesn't provide the basis for a comprehensive policy. Nor did Reagan's appearance before the College of Physicians of Philadelphia on April 1. The White House had agreed a month earlier to a presidential speech in Philadelphia without worrying about what Reagan might say. What mattered was that the invitation came from a doctors group of which First Lady Nancy Reagan's brother, Dr. Richard Davis, a neurosurgeon, is a member. When presidential aides finally got together to discuss themes for the speech, "nobody was even thinking about AIDS," says a White House official. But Bauer suggested it, and a few paragraphs on AIDS were added. Reagan's remarks weren't especially pointed, except when he condemned value-neutral sex education. "When it comes to preventing AIDS, don't medicine and morality teach the same lessons?" he asked rhetorically. Still, Reagan got more press attention with his offhand response to a reporter's question: Is "just say no" to sexual intercourse the best policy for teenagers in avoiding AIDS? "That's a pretty good answer," the president said. "Yes."

With absolutely no prodding from Reagan, a new policy on AIDS is bubbling up in the administration. While Reagan was in Philadelphia, the Domestic Policy Council, headed by Attorney General Edwin Meese III, gathered in the Roosevelt Room at the White House to talk about welfare reform and AIDS. The welfare discussion was tame, the AIDS discussion heated. There are roughly two camps, softliners and hard-liners. The softies are from the Department of Health and Human Services, which has set AIDS policy since the disease was discovered six years ago. Their emphasis is on finding an AIDS cure and caring for those afflicted with the disease. The hard-liners are spread around the administration—Meese, Bauer, Education Secretary William Bennett, Kenneth Cribb, who is the new White House domestic policy coordinator. Their emphasis is on protecting the public from AIDS.

The two sides skirmished over trivialities before touching on the gut issues. Officials from HHS, including Assistant Secretary Robert E. Windom, were interested in setting up an AIDS policy advisory board and a special

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Our Editorial Staff Were Bigger, Our World Vision Might Be Smaller.

By news magazine standards, WORLD PRESS REVIEW is small. No vast network of foreign correspondents. No team of copy editors in New York or Washington to filter, shape and flavor the news for American tastes.

A drawback? No—a benefit!

We *borrow* our resources—to give you something that the weekly news magazines don't: a *world* view of your world.

We cull the great newspapers and magazines, all over the globe, to bring you different views. Fresh opinions. Overlooked facts. Generally unnoticed trends.

With WORLD PRESS REVIEW, you get the sense, not just the gist. Because we leave the writing in the authors' own words. Translated, of course, from the French, Finnish, Chinese, Russian, Arabic or whatever. You get the full impact of the original, because you actually get the original: the news as it looks to informed observers close to the scene and familiar with the background.

Nothing between you and the source.

How does the situation look from abroad? What are they thinking, what are they talking about, what concerns them—in Britain, France, West Germany, Australia, Brazil, Mexico? What's being reported, and how, in the Soviet press? The Israeli press? The Syrian press? Now you'll know. Because WORLD PRESS REVIEW never comes between you and the source.

Early warning.

Any signs of political instability? Upheaval in the works? Changes in the wind? *WORLD PRESS REVIEW gives you early warning—months, even years before it breaks out, boils over, impacts on you.*

Global opportunities.

What's the economic outlook? The climate for investment? The new technology? Where are the opportunities in today's global economy and who's in the best position to capitalize? Maybe you! *WORLD PRESS REVIEW could help you profit!*

World awareness.

What's new in books, art, movies, culture, social trends? Where do people in the rest of the world travel when they want to unwind and relax? *Along with everything else, WORLD PRESS REVIEW can add to your pleasure!*

Half price trial.

WORLD PRESS REVIEW can give you what you need in today's world—greater global vision. And we're monthly. Which means you have time to read and absorb each issue before the next arrives.

Not advertised on TV—commercials are too costly—WORLD PRESS REVIEW is available now at the special introductory rate of one year for just $16.97. That's less than half the 12-issue cover cost, and 32% off the regular subscription rate. Satisfaction guaranteed—see the card, and mail it now while this offer is still good.

If card is missing, write:

World Press Review
P.O. Box 915
Farmingdale, NY 11737

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commission on AIDS. The hard-liners quashed both, out of fear that HHS's influence on AIDS would be paramount and theirs nil. "We don't need a new policy board," said a White House official. "We've already got one, the Domestic Policy Council. Why not stick with it?" A commission appointed by HHS Secretary Otis Bowen to study AIDS would be even worse, the hard-liners felt. And worse still, HHS proposed to name a gay rights activist as a member. "We're not going to get into that, putting people on boards because of sexual preference," said the White House official. Besides, another hard-liner said, "HHS has been maumaued by the gay rights groups. Talk to physicians out in the country and they're appalled by the line HHS is taking—confidentiality above all, an exaggerated sense of civil rights, concern for a single group [homosexuals] over the public at large."

THE HARD-LINERS would do things differently. They would step up research for an AIDS cure and care for those dying of the disease. The administration is spending $766 million on this in 1987 and plans to spend $1 billion next year. "You can't let yourself be accused of not caring about dying people, especially if you're a moralistic conservative," said an administration official. But the real goal of the hard-liners is, as a White House official put it, "to make ourselves the champion of all the people who don't have the disease yet. They've got civil rights, too. These three things [research, care, protection] are the right things to do and they help you politically."

How do you champion the unafflicted? You give up the notion of strict confidentiality between doctor and AIDS patient and you find out how many people have the disease. At the White House meeting, an HHS official was challenged when he said the confidentiality of information about who has AIDS should not be breached. "Maybe, maybe not," said Bennett. He cited a recent case in New York City in which AIDS victims were released from prison, but their spouses and lovers were not notified that they had the disease. Abandoning confidentiality in some cases "is not something we should preclude," said Bennett. Confidentiality is "an issue that we have to look at seriously." Said a White House official: "Confidentiality is a concern, but you don't want 100 percent confidentiality. Shouldn't the physician inform a wife if a husband has AIDS? What if AIDS is found in a marriage license test? Should the prospective spouse be informed?" These are difficult questions, concedes Windom, who favors strict confidentiality. "There hasn't been a satisfactory resolution."

Testing for AIDS is the other battleground. The hard-liners want more of it, perhaps mandatory testing. The soft-liners are dubious. Windom says that mandatory testing is not feasible and might backfire, driving away those who would not voluntarily take tests for AIDS. But a White House aide argues that it's silly "to sit around trying to make policy on AIDS and not even know how many people have the virus." And a senior official said that the government is "more aggressive in tracking down the possible victims of food contamination than of AIDS." If someone is poisoned by a can of tuna, the official said, an attempt is made to track down everyone who might have contact with the contaminated food. Bennett, for one, is not persuaded that mandatory testing is the solution, but he'd like to see a discussion.

If nowhere else, there will be one in federal court. Last November the State Department decided to test all foreign service officers for AIDS, and the American Federation of Government Employees challenged the practice in court. The department said the tests were needed to keep the afflicted from overseas assignments where they wouldn't get proper treatment and where the disease might be exacerbated. AFGE said, among other things, that the test results would be used unfairly against those with AIDS antibodies and that there were no safeguards to ensure confidentiality. On the contrary, Justice Department lawyers said confidentiality is "of paramount importance," which isn't exactly the position taken by hard-liners on AIDS in the administration. "Neither an employee's supervisors nor his co-employees have knowledge of his or her medical status," the lawyers said.

IN THE END, testing and confidentiality are likely to be handled in a peculiarly Reaganesque fashion. Both sides agree that a commission must be formed to study AIDS and come up with recommendations. The hard-liners figure this is the only way that a national consensus for a tougher approach can be forged. "I wouldn't be in favor of a commission at all if I thought we could get away with it," says a White House official. Of course, the hard-liners want a presidential commission, since they'd be involved in picking its members. Thus they perked up when Senate Republican leader Bob Dole proposed such a commission April 3. Who would be on it? "Representatives from the insurance industry, the business community, the pharmaceutical industry, labor, health care providers, the International Red Cross, the National Association of Governors, foundations, religion and scientific experts," Dole said. Note the absence of any representative from homosexual groups.

For all the effort of the hard-liners—Bauer reportedly peppers Howard Baker, the White House chief of staff, with memos on the subject—they haven't provoked Reagan into action. At the Cabinet meeting on April 7, Reagan listened as every department head spelled out his idea of what the Reagan agenda ought to be. Bennett wasn't there, but he sent in a memo listing education, drugs, and AIDS. The only person to mention AIDS at the meeting was an HHS official, and he did so in passing. Reagan just listened. That's less than he did before when Buchanan used to broach the subject at issues luncheons. Then, Reagan would get involved in the discussion. "He was very interested, and we had good discussions about AIDS," says Buchanan. "But he didn't indicate we should do anything about it." Some things never change.

FRED BARNES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCIENCE AND SOCIETY

YUPPIE PLAGUE

THE MAIN SYMPTOM is fatigue—hardly an unusual feeling. So victims of the "new disease" often are accused of malingering. Many have heard physicians suggest, with condescension, that they visit a psychiatrist. Some specialists scoff at the contention that there is a new disease. But those who suffer from "chronic Epstein-Barr syndrome," "Lake Tahoe disease," or whatever else it is called, have no doubt they are sick.

Since the discovery of antibiotics in 1887, researchers who study infectious disease have received less glamour and grant money than many of their colleagues. Academic medicine regards infectious disease as something to be prevented by a vaccine or cured by a drug, or as a public health consequence of Third World poverty. Because so many general practitioners are beset by hypochondriacs, doctors are often reluctant to treat people unless their symptoms appear life-threatening, or unless tests reveal a specific illness.

AIDS, of course, changed the medical community's thinking about infectious disease. The appearance of the new, deadly virus reminds us that our relationship with our biological environment is more fraught with hazard than we had come to assume in the antibiotic age. Some scientists are now more willing to consider that new agents of disease might appear from time to time.

Incline Village, Nevada, on the north shore of Lake Tahoe, just east of the California border, is one of the loveliest resorts in the country. Skiing, boating, pine-clad mountains, and casino gambling attract thousands of visitors a year. But the constant inflow of transients also made the town particularly susceptible to an outbreak of a new infectious disease.

Dr. Paul Cheney and Dr. Daniel Peterson ran a small family practice in Incline Village. (Cheney recently moved to North Carolina.) In 1985 they noticed increasing numbers of patients complaining of severe, chronic fatigue. Most were in their 30s and 40s—active, well educated, high achievers. It seemed to be a "yuppie disease." Many had swollen glands and elevated white blood cell counts. Others experienced forgetfulness, mood swings, and other neurological symptoms. The doctors' concern grew as the number of cases increased and it became clear that for many victims the symptoms persisted for months.

I met some of these patients. They included a woman who had been a marathon runner—and then suddenly could not gather the strength to get out of bed, remaining all but prostrate for months. There was the physical education teacher from a local high school where several other teachers had also gotten sick. His wife, too, had the condition, and he told me about several months when neither of them could get up to make a meal. To my untrained eyes these people did not appear to be malingerers.

Cheney and Peterson perused the medical literature in search of the cause of the strange malady. They concluded that the most likely culprit was Epstein-Barr virus (EBV). EBV, a member of the herpes family of viruses, is ubiquitous. Most Americans are exposed to it sometime in their lives, remain infected, and never realize it. But EBV can cause serious disease. Certain types of cancer, extremely rare in the United States but common in Africa, result from EBV infection. Mononucleosis, whose symptoms are similar to those Cheney and Peterson saw in their patients, is caused by EBV. But mononucleosis strikes children and young adults. It does not last as long as the condition at Lake Tahoe, and no one has ever seen it break out in bunches.

Earlier in 1985 researchers from the National Institutes of Health had published a paper suggesting that there could be a chronic EBV syndrome in adults. At the time many researchers disagreed with that conclusion. Many still do. But Cheney and Peterson decided that was the most likely explanation for their patients' symptoms. They summoned investigators from the national Center for Disease Control, but the CDC concluded there was nothing unusual going on. They found that the level of EBV infection and the incidence of some of the symptoms was the same in those suffering the mysterious illness as it was in a control group of healthy individuals from the rest of the community.

Cheney and Peterson met with the same skepticism when they sent some of their patients to be examined by prominent specialists at major medical centers on the West Coast. Some scoffed at both the doctors and their patients, suggesting that the town was undergoing a collective hysteria and that Cheney and Peterson were "perpetrating a hoax." Last summer, however, skepticism began to give way. Cheney and Peterson saw fewer and fewer new cases, indicating that, if there had been an epidemic in Incline Village, it had swept through the community and was ending. (In all, they saw just under 200 patients with the syndrome. About a third have recovered, a third report that the symptoms disappear and then return for brief periods, and in the remaining third the condition simply persists.) Yet other places throughout the country began reporting similar outbreaks over different periods. Some academic physicians, including Dr. Anthony Komaroff, chief of general medicine at Brigham and Women's Hospital in Boston, became interested.

With Komaroff's help, blood samples from some of Cheney's and Peterson's patients were sent to the laboratory of Dr. Robert Gallo at the National Cancer Institute. Gallo believes firmly in new infectious agents. Before his role in the discovery of the AIDS virus, he fought a long and difficult battle to persuade skeptical colleagues that human cancers could result from a virus. He discovered two that cause leukemia, HTLV I and HTLV II.

Gallo and his colleagues announced that they had found a new virus in the blood samples. They named it HBLV, because it attacks the type of white cells called B cells, as opposed to the T white blood cells attacked by the leukemia-causing HTLV viruses and the AIDS virus. It is another member of the herpes family. The researchers speculate

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that it is the cause of the chronic fatigue syndrome, and that it may somehow work in tandem with EBV. Studies have shown that herpes viruses, including the genital variety, can be activated by stress. That might explain the prevalence of the new disease among high achievers.

Speculation, of course, is a long way from proof. The new virus also can be found in people with no symptoms. Is the EBV syndrome breaking out across the country, or is that just the perception among people who think they are victims? When I broadcast a piece about the illness on the "NBC Nightly News," I got more than a thousand inquiries from people saying they or their relatives had the disease and wanted more information.

The chronic fatigue syndrome remains a mystery. Many leading physicians still believe there is no such thing. There's an old story that at one time U.S. government officials wanted to close down the patent office because they thought everything worth inventing had already been invented. We should keep in mind that nature's capacity to invent new organisms—even disease-causing ones—can outstrip our scientific capacity to identify and describe them.

ROBERT BAZELL

Robert Bazell is the science correspondent for NBC News.

It's time for a U.S. 'tilt.'

BACK IRAQ

IRANIAN TROOPS entrenched in southern Iraq threaten more than Basra, Iraq's second largest city. They challenge the entire political order of the Middle East. The fall of the existing regime in Iraq would enormously enhance Iranian influence, endanger the supply of oil, threaten pro-American regimes throughout the area, and upset the Arab-Israeli balance.

And now we know that, for over a year, the United States was secretly helping the wrong side. HAWK missiles sold to Iran blunted the effectiveness of the Iraqi air force, Baghdad's most important offensive force. This permitted more Iranian oil exports, which will bring in the revenue Iran needs to purchase new weapons. TOW anti-tank missiles and spare parts for F-4 aircraft added significantly to Iran's offensive capability. Furthermore, the Reagan administration's breach of its own arms embargo on Iran opened the door for other nations to cut arms deals with Iran. The equipment they have sent increases the Ayatollah's chances for victory.

American actions also helped to legitimize other kinds of help for, and capitulation to, the Ayatollah. Premier Jacques Chirac of France recently bought back two French hostages by repaying $333 million of a loan the Shah had made to France. Even Saudi Arabia, generally seen as an Iraqi ally, is hedging its bets by helping Iran. After firing Sheikh Yamani, the oil minister unwilling to appease Iran, the Saudis endorsed a 20 percent rise in oil prices eagerly sought by Iran. Meanwhile, international lenders, taking their cue from the covert U.S. dealings with Iran, are shying away from Iraq.

Far from bolstering American influence, our craven hostage-ransoming made the United States an object of derision in Tehran. The "Black House," Iran's leaders credibly assert, begged for relations with the Islamic Republic. Of course, the Iranian rulers are trying to cover their own embarrassment at having dealt with the "Great Satan." But the United States was dealing on Tehran's terms (there are more U.S. hostages in Lebanon now than when the deal began), and the contempt of Iranian radicals seems perfectly justified. More than ever, they believe that they can manipulate American policy and politics. By showing that the United States would allow itself to be suckered into helping reduce the costs of the war to Iran, the U.S. arms sales discouraged those Iranians who want to give up the export of the revolution, end the war, and rebuild their country.

REAGAN'S BID for renewed influence in Iran exposed a profound and chronic misunderstanding of the forces that shape the foreign policy of revolutionary regimes in the Middle East. American politicians persistently delude themselves that goodwill toward a hostile government will lead to friendly relations. But radicals instinctively hate the West. They feel threatened by its wealth, its rule of law, and its democratic procedures. Political necessity also drives radical governments to adopt postures of militant opposition toward the West. To undercut the political base of the old regime and build support for their own, revolutionaries must take on foreign elements identified with the old regime.

Indeed, Reagan's experience with Khomeini recalls previous failed efforts to conciliate Mideast radicals. American leaders initially saw Nasser's overthrow of a pro-Western but decadent monarchy in Egypt as a boost for U.S. interests. As an "authentic nationalist," he would make peace with Israel and help contain the Soviets, or so it was thought. During the Suez crisis in 1956, the United States forced its allies France, Britain, and Israel out of Egypt to save Nasser. Nasser returned the favor by making himself the champion of militant anti-Americanism, the leading Arab enemy of Israel, and eventually the Soviets' main ally in the Middle East. Thirteen years later, when Muammar al-Qaddafi overthrew the politically dormant regime of Libyan King Idris, the U.S. government welcomed the fervent young officer. It encouraged American oil companies to accommodate his demands for price hikes and to accede to their nationalization. Washington even intervened to frustrate a coup against Qaddafi. Now we know what a blunder that was.

The bid to appease Khomeini's regime was almost predictable. How can we undo the damage? President Rea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gan's efforts to reimpose the arms embargo on Iran are a first step. Yet Reagan still needs to renounce unambiguously the entire policy that was adopted as well as the geopolitical thinking that he claims lay behind it—and he has yet publicly to revoke the intelligence finding that permitted the arms sales to Iran.

But recovering our lost standing in the region takes more than undoing a mistake. The United States must take clear military, economic, and political steps to demonstrate that it opposes the appeasement of Iran and considers an Iranian victory inimical to Western interests.

Ironically, helping Iraq militarily may offer the best way for Washington to regain its position in Tehran. The American weapons that Iraq could make good use of include remotely scatterable and anti-personnel mines, and counterartillery radar. Indeed, Baghdad has already expressed an interest in purchasing American arms, but Washington rejected both the Iraqis' request for C-130 cargo aircraft and a Jordanian proposal to let the Iraqis use King Hussein's U.S.-made counterartillery radar. The Reagan administration still does not seem to understand that, although Khomeini's men will never love us, they could be made to fear us. Only when the Ayatollah begins to worry about Washington will he try to win its favor. Thwarting Iran's war effort is the best way to strengthen the forces of moderation in Tehran.

The United States might also consider upgrading intelligence it is supplying to Baghdad to balance the military damage done to Iraq by the arms-for-hostage swap. We now know that the United States has been providing Iraq with information on Iranian troop concentrations and damage assessments of Iraqi attacks on Iranian targets. It's good this news is out; it gives the Ayatollah pause.

CURRENTLY the United States provides Iraq with commodity credits worth $500 million annually. Repayment terms could be eased. Opening a line of export-import credits was discussed early in 1986; the United States backed down at the time, but should move forward now. Other economic steps (such as reducing tariffs on Iraqi goods) should be explored as well. Such measures would assert U.S. confidence in Iraq's political viability and its ability to repay its debts after the war's end, and would encourage other countries—especially Iraq's Arab allies and European creditors—to continue financing Iraqi war efforts.

The United States and its European allies should mount a sustained campaign to isolate Iran. Last year's efforts against Libya for its support of terrorism can serve as a model. The arms embargo needs to be resurrected with real determination. But it is not only the lack of weapons that makes Iran vulnerable. Iran imports up to 250,000 barrels per day of gasoline, kerosene, and other refined petroleum products, most of which goes straight to the battlefield. A large part of this comes from Saudi Arabia via Abu Dhabi. Pressure on the Saudis from America, Europe, and the Middle East could shut off this key source of supplies.

Some will say the United States should simply pull back and have nothing to do with either side in the Gulf war. Although it's true that we've bungled our prior involvement, the conflict is too important to ignore. At stake is the possible resurgence of anti-American fundamentalist Islam, the security of Western access to Persian Gulf oil, and potential Soviet predominance in the region. Abdication is not a responsible choice. Many argue that a tilt to Iraq might drive the Iranians into the Soviet Union's arms, yet the Iranian leadership has its own reasons for keeping its distance from Moscow. The Iranians need the United States more than the United States needs Iran, although American cravenness has given Iranian officials the opposite impression.

A MORE SERIOUS argument against a tilt toward Iraq is the danger that a victorious Baghdad would itself turn against pro-American states in the region—mainly Israel, but also Kuwait and other weak states in the Persian Gulf region. Under Saddam Hussein, Iraq has a history of anti-Americanism, anti-Zionism, support for terrorism, and friendliness toward the Soviet Union.

But the Iranian revolution and seven years of bloody and inconclusive warfare have changed Iraq's view of its Arab neighbors, the United States, and even Israel. Iraq restored relations with the United States in November 1984. Its leaders no longer consider the Palestinian issue their problem. Iraq's allies since 1979 have been those states—Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Morocco—most threatened by revolutionary upheaval, most friendly to the United States, and most open to negotiations with Israel. These allies have forced a degree of moderation on Iraq, as Baghdad's silence about the recent meeting between Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak and Israeli foreign minister Shimon Peres conspicuously showed. Iraq is now the de facto protector of the regional status quo. Iran, the revolutionary state, is more likely to turn its weapons against Israel. It already has 1,000 troops in Lebanon—its so-called "Golan brigade."

The main point is to repair the damage done by the Reagan administration's covert U.S. tilt toward Iran. If our tilt toward Iraq is reciprocated, moreover, it could lay the basis for a fruitful relationship in the longer term. For example, the United States might push for restoration of full diplomatic relations between Iraq and Egypt. Iraqi recognition of Cairo, with whom it has been cooperating since the beginning of the Gulf war anyway, would further legitimize the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty and enhance its stability. With the easing of its Arab isolation, Egypt would then feel more confident about improving ties with Israel. This is what Washington should promote, instead of pursuing the chimera of improved relations with Iranian moderates.

DANIEL PIPES AND LAURIE MYLROIE

Daniel Pipes is director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia. Laurie Mylroie is assistant professor of government at Harvard University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Or, Dr. Bennett at the bridge.

MISTER ED

BY JOHN B. JUDIS

DURING HIS first years in the Reagan administration, William J. Bennett was a maverick: a Democrat among Republicans, a lover of Aristotle and rock 'n' roll, a man who could compare Martin Luther King's "Letter from the Birmingham Jail" favorably with the "Gettysburg Address" and the Declaration of Independence. His provocative platform manner evoked both philosopher and tough Irish cop. His educational philosophy was that of a 1950s liberal rather than a 1980s conservative. When he was nominated as secretary of education in 1985, he was supported enthusiastically by both Howard Phillips, the chairman of the New Right Conservative Caucus, and Albert Shanker, the president of the American Federation of Teachers.

But in the last year, Bennett has not only changed his registration from Democrat to Republican; he has also become the administration's leading Reaganite, and has transformed the Department of Education—which Reagan pledged to eliminate—into the last rampart of Reaganism. Although his statements remain provocative, they have also become politically predictable. Bennett has reduced his vaunted—and valuable—campaign for cultural and moral literacy to a narrow headline-grabbing crusade for prayer and against drugs and promiscuity. And with the clouds of scandal darkening the Reagan presidency, Bennett is attempting to rally the conservative faithful and to chastise the doubters. He told a *Washington Times* editorial luncheon gathering last December: "It strikes me that it is too damn quiet among those for whom the president has done so much, and I wish we could hear more from all those people." Comparing Reagan to Abraham Lincoln, Bennett described him as a "great president," and praised him for his "remarkable candor and openness."

These kinds of statements will not help revive a conservative movement that is living through the nightmare of post-Reagan America with Reagan still in office. But by sounding like a publicist rather than a philosopher, Bennett is consuming his own reputation as a moralist and an educator and threatening to undo whatever positive contribution he made during his years at the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Department of Education.

The approach to education that Bennett brought to NEH in 1982 stemmed from his own education and political evolution—one that took him from the New Left of the 1960s to the neoconservative countermovement of the 1970s. Raised by his mother in Brooklyn and then Washington, D.C., Bennett attended Gonzaga, the same Jesuit high school from which Pat Buchanan graduated. At Williams College, Bennett played football, but he majored in philosophy and was close to the left-wing students in the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Bennett strongly favored the civil rights movement, and he opposed the war in Vietnam.

When he went to the University of Texas in 1966 as a graduate student of philosophy, he studied under John Silber, who was chairman of the department. Bennett's later insistence on a "core curriculum" of Great Books reflected the influence of both Gonzaga and Williams and the liberalism of the late 1950s and early 1960s that saw high culture as a bulwark against the middle-brow mediocrity of the Eisenhower period. But it was also due to the influence of Silber, whose course in philosophical classics Bennett helped to teach.

At Texas Bennett stayed clear of campus politics, but he retained his commitment to civil rights and his opposition to the Vietnam War. In 1967-68 he taught at the University of Southern Mississippi, where he achieved a certain notoriety by eulogizing Martin Luther King. In his 132-page doctoral thesis on "Societal Obligation," reflecting the influence of Silber's Kantianism, Bennett argued for basing social morality on "rational judgment" rather than on subjective relativism or religion. His argument was thoroughly academic and ordinary, but in his concluding paragraph—as if to announce his own departure for a broader terrain—he suddenly introduced a citation from the controversial black novelist and essayist Ralph Ellison.

Bennett's turn from left to right occurred in 1970 when he was at Harvard Law School. As a proctor at a Harvard dorm and a teacher in the social studies program, he had his first close encounter with the radicalism of the time. He was deeply offended by the Harvard anti-war left's identification with the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong. "When I saw students at Harvard starting not just complaining about the war, but trashing the United States," he said, "that's when I got off the bus." He was also offended by the school's black power movement. When one of his freshmen, a black pre-med student, wanted to drop his advanced science and math courses to major in sociology, Bennett, who believed the student was reacting to peer pressure, refused to sign his course card. "We had a big argument, going through the freshman dining room at Harvard, and I followed him to his table, and he said, 'You can't sit here,' and I said, 'Why not?' and he said, 'It's just for blacks.' And I said, 'That's a lot of junk, I heard that in Mississippi, and now I'm hearing that at Harvard.' "

In 1973 Bennett was hired as an assistant by Silber, who

John B. Judis, a senior editor of *In These Times*, is completing *The Consummate Conservative*, a biography of William F. Buckley Jr. (Simon and Schuster).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

had been appointed president of Boston University. Silber had at first been known at Texas as a liberal for his stands on the war and civil rights, but clashes with radical students and teachers in the philosophy department turned him against the left. At B.U. Silber and Bennett became embroiled in a bitter battle with campus radicals over Marine recruiting on campus. Silber thinks that Bennett's political views were shaped by that experience: "He saw how vicious and mindless young people can be."

By the mid-1970s, Bennett, along with Silber, had become a convert to the as yet unnamed but fully recognizable neoconservative faith. He disliked the New Left and the left wing of the Democratic Party the way he had formerly disliked the Republican right. His intellectual hero was not Tom Hayden, who had argued for participatory democracy, but Irving Kristol, who argued that a virtuous and educated citizenry was a prerequisite to democracy. He retained a commitment to high culture, but like the other neoconservatives, he saw Plato and Kant as a counterweight to left-wing radicalism rather than to Eisenhower or Nixon Republicanism.

BENNETT ARRIVED at NEH in January 1982 through the good offices of Kristol and his wife, the historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, who met Bennett while he was working for Silber. In 1978, when Charles Frankel, the director of the National Humanities Center at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, a retreat for humanities scholars, was looking for an assistant, Himmelfarb, a trustee of the center, recommended Bennett. Bennett took the job, and in 1979 Bennett succeeded Frankel. In 1981 Kristol launched a vigorous campaign to get Bennett appointed the chairman of NEH. Bennett finally won out over University of Dallas scholar M. E. Bradford, who had been the choice of many New Right and "traditional" conservatives, including Bennett's own senators, Jesse Helms and John East.

While Bradford's allies attacked Bennett for being an Eastern liberal who would be too "timid," as *Human Events* put it, to "reform the Endowment substantially," Kristol and other Bennett supporters attacked Bradford for the quality of his scholarship, his criticism of Lincoln for freeing the slaves, and his past support for George Wallace. However, conservatives outside the two camps, such as political scientist Harry Jaffa, believed that the real issue was not scholarship, but turf and patronage. Indeed, when Bennett won out, he angered the traditionalists by appointing Himmelfarb and other neoconservatives to positions within the National Endowment. Still, as chairman of NEH, Bennett's most important political task was not to reconcile the largely university-based traditionalists with the neoconservatives (five years later the feud continues unabated), but to reconcile his own neoconservative and liberal inclinations with those of the popularly based and highly vocal New Right populism and fundamentalism.

At first glance, Bennett faced an impossible task. The differences between neoconservatism and New Right populism are as great as those between Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace or between a university classroom and a revival tent. Liberals of the 1950s like Silber, Kristol, and Daniel Bell believed that morals could be founded upon reason rather than religion. They viewed Southern fundamentalism as a backwater of ignorance and prejudice rather than a fount of wisdom. They thought Darwin, Dewey, and Freud were men of genius and not messengers of the devil. They backed civil rights, even if some of them later opposed affirmative action. But the neoconservatives and the New Right nevertheless shared a common hatred of the New Left and its culture, and it was on this basis that Bennett sought to reconcile the two faiths.

Bennett won over Howard Phillips and Paul Weyrich by attacking and "defunding" the culture of the New Left. He denounced an NEH-funded documentary on Nicaragua as "a propaganda piece, not a piece on the humanities." When the Public Broadcasting Service aired Stanley Karnow's decidedly centrist series on the Vietnam War, Bennett gave Accuracy in Media $30,000 out of his chairman's "emergency" funds to produce a right-wing alternative. Under Bennett, review panels rejected projects that, in the words of memoranda, "reveal a strong ideological bias highly critical of the government, the economic system" or a "feminist perspective." Broad studies of the past were also preferred over contemporary studies of particular social groups. (From 1981 to 1983, NEH grants for black studies fell from 73 to 20, and for women's studies from 69 to 15.) And Bennett became the second head of a government agency to refuse to comply with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's guidelines for hiring women and minorities.

At the same time, Bennett charmed both neoconservatives and older liberals such as Albert Shanker (who had studied with Frankel at Columbia) by calling on schools and colleges to return to teaching the great works of Western civilization. Bennett pressed his case through speeches and through a pamphlet, "To Reclaim a Legacy," and he funded several imaginative projects that sought to reconcile the chairman's emphasis on reading great books with popular educational needs. In 1983, for instance, NEH awarded Georgetown University $231,759 to train elementary school teachers to teach Homer's *Odyssey*.

If Bennett's push for the humanities had a weakness, it was one that permeated neoconservative and New Right views of education. Both the neoconservatives, many of whom had been former socialists, and conservative authors such as Albert Jay Nock and Russell Kirk had recognized that the culture of modern capitalism tended to detract from an appreciation of and interest in classical Greece, biblical Jerusalem, and Elizabethan England. Capitalism encouraged a narrow focus on income and career; it reduced learning to a commodity. But in their passage from left to right, the neoconservatives had largely abandoned this skeptical view, and saw no inconsistency between the Reagan administration's drive for the deregulation of capitalism and a call for a resurgence of humanistic studies. Bennett, who devoted several speeches to urging investment bankers to hire Classics majors, appeared oblivious to any potential contradiction.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the Department of Education, Bennett has faced a far more formidable political task than he had at NEH. There is a hundred times as much money to dole out, so the stakes are far higher. And during his three years, Bennett has had to sell budget cuts rather than increases. The department's constituency is not just college professors and contributors to the *Public Interest*, but the entire army of teachers, parents, students, and professional educators. Teachers want more pay, students more aid, universities more grants. Catholic and fundamentalist schools want state funding. Fundamentalists want religious education in public schools.

The pressures on Bennett from the right have been particularly intense. At NEH he could appease populists and fundamentalists by grumbling about pro-Sandinista television shows and by blocking feminist projects. At the Department of Education, he has had to contend with people for whom back to basics means teaching the book of Genesis as literal truth rather than learning classical Greek and reading Plato's *Republic*.

AS DEPARTMENT secretary, Bennett has been at his best campaigning around the country for higher educational standards. His participation as a classroom teacher during the past few years has added prestige to teaching. But Bennett has had less success in dealing with budget cuts and demands from religious groups.

His handling of budgetary issues has pleased the White House and many conservatives, but has thoroughly alienated many of the constituencies that rely on the education budget, from college students who depended on loans to principals of vocational high schools. His predecessor, Terrel Bell, dealt with the cuts by trying to mediate between the educational constituencies and the administration. Bennett has sought to prove his political loyalty by enthusiastically backing the president's budget cuts and by casting aspersions on anyone who criticizes them.

His strategy has been to deflect attention from the difficulty in justifying budget cuts by focusing attention on the more politically vulnerable. In 1985 the administration proposed drastic cuts in college student loans and vocational education. Bennett tried to draw attention to the reductions in college loans for students from wealthy families. This year he is trying to focus attention on college tuitions, which he claims have risen in response to student loan availability, to deflect attention from the reductions proposed in college work-study programs and in Pell grants for low-income students. This strategy has earned him the enmity of former supporters, including Silber, who had competed with Bennett for the Department of Education job. "The idea that universities are trying to get rich is an idea of such appalling ignorance I don't know how Bennett could have fallen into it," Silber said. Shanker commented, "You can't do a good job if you are going to alienate everyone in your constituency."

Bennett also has tried to deflect attention from the budget cuts by arguing that money is irrelevant to America's educational ills. Speaking in Austin last February, he said, "The problem with American education is not that it is underfunded. The problem is that it is too often underproductive, overregulated, and underaccountable." This contention has merit in some specific cases, but is directly at odds with the administration's free market values. The tenets of capitalism hold that if teachers are paid less than lawyers, the most intellectually qualified and ambitious people will want to be lawyers rather than teachers.

A student made this point last year when Bennett was visiting a prize-winning high school in Washington, D.C. A *Washington Post* reporter following Bennett asked the student whether any of her classmates wanted to be teachers. She replied, "Most Banneker students are interested in being something above that, like a doctor or a lawyer."

Bennett has held his ground against some of the more unreasonable pressures from the right. He backed California superintendent of schools William Honig when Honig insisted that the state's biology textbooks teach evolution rather than "creationism." He attacked the Rev. Pat Robertson for "invidious sectarianism" when Robertson claimed that Christians were more patriotic than other Americans. And he criticized Reed Irvine's Accuracy in Academia for "seeking to mount public campaigns against individual professors."

But in undertaking his own crusade for moral literacy in the schools, Bennett has accepted many of the core assumptions of the religious right. He has opposed the Supreme Court decision on school prayer. He has favored a voucher system by which parents could sustain whatever kind of school they please, including fundamentalist and Catholic schools. And, while making the perfectly valid point that students should learn the history of religion, he has tended to identify religious education with moral education.

Bennett has been careful not to limit moral education to religious training, and not to single out any particular variety of Christianity or Judaism for commendation. But when he has justified the place of religion in schools, he has done so on the grounds that a kind of composite faith that he calls "Judeo-Christianity" is the basis of the American social and political order. Bennett attributes to Judeo-Christianity whatever qualities in American life and politics he finds commendable. This leads him to make some extremely questionable claims about religion.

In a series of speeches over the last 18 months, Bennett charged that in the public schools "neutrality to religion turned out to bring with it a neutrality to those values that issue from religion." These values include "freedom and democracy," "hard work and individual responsibility," "concern for community and country," and "tolerance and equality." Bennett's point is ill-founded and demagogic. Although some varieties of Christianity and Judaism promoted these values, American religion promoted witch trials and slavery as well as constitutionalism and abolitionism, other-worldliness as well as communitarianism, and conscientious objection as well as fervent patriotism.

To justify religious observance in schools, Bennett turns the history of religion on its head. "Religion promotes tolerance," he asserted in a speech last September. Then,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to explain away possible exceptions, Bennett contended (appearing to ignore the experience of Catholic Europe and Congregational Massachusetts): "When religion is excluded from public life, it can become resentful, extremist, and sectarian. But when religion is included in public life and is subject to public scrutiny, it learns to speak in a language that all sects and all citizens can understand."

Bennett's arguments not only buttress the fundamentalist case; they also run counter to his own philosophical training in Kant and Aristotle. In Bennett's thesis he endorsed an Enlightenment view of moral and social obligation. His teacher Silber says, "The time when the nation took its moral instruction from religion is gone. That is regrettable, but there have been any number of moralists who have worked hard to demonstrate the rational foundation for decisions of ethics and right. And in the absence of a religious ethos, a general unanimity that we are a Christian nation, we had better shift to a rational foundation for education."

Bennett, who attacked relativism, has even begun to apply his own version of relativism to the controversy over creationism. In a question-and-answer session at Kansas State University last fall, Bennett refused to endorse the teaching of evolution over that of creationism. "I think to engage the judgment of the community and not just experts is good," he said.

When I asked Bennett about the speech, he ended up pleading ignorance of the subject of creationism:

Q: Is it good to leave science up to the community?
A: It depends on the question.
Q: But aren't there certain areas where experts know better? Not on evolution?
A: Teach the facts, what we know. Should there be discussion of creationism or evolution? You're now not talking about biology. You're talking about whether you want to have a mini-cosmology. A lot of questions people are raising about this are not appropriately taken up in a course called biology. They are really philosophical.
Q: Do you think in a biology course people should teach the creationist view?
A: They should learn what scientific evidence suggests, the state of the art, and if there are disputes, they should learn about the disputes.
Q: Is creationism state of the art?
A: I don't know. I don't know much about it.

A proponent of morality by example ("There should be no moral surrender in the presence of the young"), Bennett has also been reluctant to criticize anyone connected with the current Iran-*contra* scandal. Instead, going well beyond the discreet silence that loyalty might demand of a Cabinet member, he has used his own reputation for high morality and called on conservatives to rally around the president. When I asked whether he was following the political path of former communications director Patrick Buchanan, Bennett did not reject the comparison—only the attribution of leadership and originality to Buchanan rather than himself. "Indeed, I was first," he said.

Since Bennett has chosen to be so vocal in defense of Reagan, it is legitimate to ask his views of the charges that he is defending the president against. Yet when I asked him about the scandal two weeks after the release of the Tower Commission report, he pleaded ignorance, just as he had about creationism:

Q: What is your opinion now of the president?
A: My view is essentially the same. The president is still the same. He's a man we owe a great deal to. . . .
Q: What about his aides? Do you think they did anything reprehensible?
A: I have no idea until I see it all.
Q: Did you feel a responsibility to take a position on any of these questions?
A: My concern is the future of this party and how we should be thinking about the next two years and the years after that. Look, everybody is distressed about Iran, and there are all kinds of people who are trying to heap criticism upon the president. . . .
Q: From what you know of the facts do you have any opinion?
A: I'm confused . . . Sure I see people running off in directions that probably weren't authorized, but I don't know.
Q: Do you believe that there is a constitutional issue at stake?
A: I really haven't thought about it.

WHAT IS happening to a public official known for the clarity of his mind and distinctness of his moral vision? Like many people who enter public office, Bennett appears to have exhausted the intellectual capital that he brought with him, and is now living off the wisdom of various assistants and staff members. During our interview, his chief of staff, William Kristol, the son of Irving Kristol, acted at times as an interpreter—trying to frame his boss's answers in the best light. In many of his speeches, Bennett appears to be taking two opposed positions at the same time—whether for or against religious education in the schools or for or against discussion of current political issues. "One of the most interesting education debates is listening to Bennett giving a speech," says David Kuznets, the vice president of People for the American Way.

But Bennett's ambition may also be causing his intellectual compass to stray. Some people who knew him before he came to NEH didn't recognize the man who assumed power in January 1982. Steve Goodell, an NEH official who had visited Bennett at the National Humanities Center, had known him as an affable, gregarious administrator who picked him up at the airport in a convertible with a six pack of Coors and eight-track stereo blaring rock 'n' roll. At NEH Goodell saw a man deeply concerned about his reputation. At one of the first staff meetings Bennett announced to senior staff, many of whom had Ph.D.s and had been on a first-name basis with Bennett's predecessor and with Bennett himself, that he wanted to be called "Dr. Bennett." "It gave him away," Goodell says.

Bennett's growing political notoriety has not appeared to slake his ambition. His name is now being bruited about as a vice presidential choice for 1988. When I asked him about running for higher office, he initially brushed aside the question. "Maybe someday, but not immediately," he told me. But then he quickly added, so as to ensure that he didn't appear too disinterested, "I do have an interest in being a vocal advocate for the things that matter to me." □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whatever happened to Squanto?

NOT-SO-GOOD BOOKS

BY JEFFREY L. PASLEY

BACK IN THE mid-1970s I learned that the Pilgrims came over on a crowded ship called the Mayflower, learned from a friendly Indian named Squanto how to plant corn, and spent most of their free time praying. They came to Massachusetts to worship God in their own way without persecution, and at the first Thanksgiving they thanked the Lord for enabling them to survive. This was arguably not the most balanced interpretation, but at least it was clear that religious faith was a major part of the Pilgrims' lives.

Times change. In the 1986 edition of *Triumph of the American Nation*, a textbook published by Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, a box labeled "Sources" contains a partial text of the Mayflower Compact, the Pilgrims' central document. The actual Compact begins with a prayer, and states its purpose as follows: "Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia. . . ." The textbook discards the prayer and guts the statement of purpose. It leaves out all but one of the document's seven references to God and Christianity. In the text proper, we discover that the Pilgrims "celebrated their first year . . . by setting aside several days for recreation and thanksgiving." The authors do not say Whom the Pilgrims were thanking.

The virtual elimination of religion from school textbooks has not gone unnoticed. On March 4 U.S. District Court Judge W. Brevard Hand ordered a number of high school history texts removed from Alabama public schools on the grounds that they didn't describe adequately the role of religion in American history, and therefore were serving the "establishment" of a religion called secular humanism. (He also banned a group of elementary social studies and home economics books, which actively preached the alleged religion.) Tom Parker, a lawyer for the plaintiffs, argued that the books actually discriminate against "theistic faiths, the same way older books discriminated against blacks and women."

Even defenders of the current stock of history books admit that religion doesn't get much play. A recent study by none other than People for the American Way, Norman Lear's anti-Falwellism lobby, concluded that "the treatment of religion as a force in U.S. history continues to receive short shrift."

I read ten of the history textbooks from the People For study, which included books from the "adoption list" of the Texas State Board of Education (Texas purchases seven percent of the textbooks sold in the United States) plus a few national best sellers. For the most part these books place religion at the lunatic fringe of American society. The index to *Our Land, Our Time*, published by Coronado, lists "religious cults," but not "religion" or "Christianity" or "Catholicism" or "Judaism." In contrast to most other texts, *United States History, Volume II: Reconstruction to the Present,* published by Charles E. Merrill, includes a few pages on religion in the 20th century. But the section leads off with a long discussion of the Hare Krishnas and the Jonestown massacre, and concludes with a brief and derisive description of the religious right.

The texts do describe religious life under the Puritans, generally portraying them as authoritarian crackpots. A passage from Houghton Mifflin's *This Is America's Story* describes them this way:

> Sundays were important days in Puritan Massachusetts. Everybody was required by law to attend church services. The people listened to long sermons both morning and afternoon. Prayers alone often lasted three-quarters of an hour. The churches were unheated and the hard benches were uncomfortable. The men sat in one part of the church, and the women and girls in another. The boys usually sat together in the balcony, and if there was any noise, the offenders were punished in front of the whole congregation. No one could work or travel on Sundays. People were expected to read the Bible and think about religion.

Now, this may well be an accurate picture of the Puritans in church, but it's also the only description in the book of a Christian religious service in America.

THE TEXTBOOKS tends to minimize or ignore the role of religion in social reform movements. They never relate religion to the abolitionist, temperance, or early women's movement, though clergymen and deeply religious women were in the forefront of all three. They give Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement extended coverage but don't point out the importance of Christianity to King and his followers. *United States History* explains that "King was strongly influenced by the ideas of American reformer Henry David Thoreau and India's independence leader, Mohandas K. Gandhi." Only one book (Prentice-Hall's *History of the Republic*) mentions that the Baptist minister may have been influenced by Jesus Christ as well.

There is little coverage of religion after the colonial period (the growth of American Protestant denominations and the revival movements of the 19th century are all but overlooked), and almost none in histories of the 20th century. Laidlaw Brothers' *History of Our American Republic* lists as important dates to remember such landmarks as "1893 Yale introduces ice hockey" and "1962 The Twist—a popular dance craze," but not, for instance, the birth of fundamentalism in 1909, or the foundation of the Assemblies of God, the largest Pentecostal church, in April 1914, two events of obvious importance to recent political history. Though the texts elaborate on the contributions of minority groups in every other field, they quickly pass over the role of religion in minority cultures. Black churches became the central institutions in the black South during Reconstruction and remain immensely powerful today, a fact that would help students understand the influence of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

such figures as King and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. But students reading these books would not even know the black church exists.

The books make an exception for now-conquered indigenous cultures. Most offer detailed descriptions of the Aztec and Plains Indian religions, perhaps compensating for their neglect of these subjects in the past. *United States History, Volume I: Beginnings Through Reconstruction* manages to cram in the religions of the Eastern Woodlands, Inca, Maya, Navaho, and Pueblo Indians without mentioning the black church or Catholicism.

The publishers appear to treat religion more with fear and condescension than with scorn. Paul Vitz, a New York University professor who testified for the plaintiffs in Alabama, points out in his study of the books that they frequently turn events or movements that illustrate the strength of religion into examples of growing "toleration." Harcourt Brace Jovanovich's *The American Nation* characterizes the Great Awakening of the early 18th century, a series of intense religious revivals, as a political reform movement. "Influenced by the Great Awakening, a growing number of colonists began to reject the idea of an established church. Many more people were now ready to accept the idea of religious toleration." The truth is that though Americans may have been rejecting the idea of an established church, they were establishing churches all over the place. And though it had politically egalitarian effects, the Great Awakening greatly expanded the reach and power of religious groups in American life. It led to the growth of the Baptist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches in America, not to mention the foundation of at least three Ivy League universities. But you wouldn't know that from the book's five-paragraph coverage.

MORMONISM, the only non-Indian indigenous American religion, and the only semblance of a state-sponsored church in the modern United States, gets clipped treatment too. The first volume of *United States History* briefly covers the persecution of the early Mormons; the second volume offers these two sentences: "Unlike the farmers moving west for land and economic opportunity, those settling Utah were seeking religious freedom. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints, these 'Mormons' were fleeing religious intolerance."

This is not to say that these textbooks are anti-religious tracts. They simply don't venture onto potentially troublesome terrain. The books emphasize the persecution and ridicule that the Mormons suffered over some of their more controversial actions. *United States History, Volume I* reports the murder of Joseph Smith by a mob in 1841. But it doesn't say that the mob was angered because Smith, as mayor of Nauvoo, Illinois, had tried to suppress church dissidents. The book also doesn't discuss the repression of non-Mormons in early Utah, or polygamy, or the political power of the church hierarchy in the various Mormon communities, or the Mormons' less-than-progressive attitude toward blacks and other minorities. But then, the Mormons are a powerful minority themselves. Any book that included a full, accurate accounting of Mormon history would probably draw fire from the Mormon Church, and sell poorly in Utah. (Forty-four of the 45 books banned by Judge Hand are approved for use in Utah.)

THE SOURCE OF the problem lies less in a secular humanist conspiracy than in the nature of the textbook business. Before a school system can buy a textbook, it must be approved by politically appointed state committees and then "adopted" by local school boards. (Texas and a few other states adopt books statewide, giving them disproportionate influence over the publishers.) Thus textbook publishers are highly susceptible to organized pressure. Their chief standard is "representativeness," meaning that textbooks have to include material on interest groups in proportion to their political power. Publishers try to stick to topics that won't arouse organized resistance, not an easy task when their market stretches from Longview, Texas (home of free-lance textbook scourges Mel and Norma Gabler), to Marin County, California.

Non surprisingly, then, publishers treat just about every controversial matter as gingerly as they handle religion. Holt, Rinehart and Winston's *Land of Liberty* (a single-volume text for junior high students), for example, offers only the most anodyne view of social unrest in the '60s, concluding that "the increase in anti-war and civil rights demonstrations was deeply disturbing to many Americans." What differentiated the Black Panthers from mainstream black groups? "Some claimed that more forceful methods were needed." The book's tedious three-page section on the "counterculture" never mentions the word "drugs." Under a photo of a hippie street musician in full psychedelic regalia, the caption reads: "Some members of the counterculture earned money as street musicians. People enjoyed their music on street corners and in parks."

Textbook publishers aren't ideologues, but merely salesmen eager to please. Until recently, textbook publishers were convinced it was just good business sense to steer clear of religion. "People are afraid that if they allude to religion, they'll get into a controversy over separation of church and state. The assumption is if you put religion in a book, it won't sell," said Herbert Adams, president and CEO of Laidlaw Brothers. With the political winds shifting, they're now taking a different tack. Even before the Alabama ruling, some textbook publishers were scrambling to produce religious history "supplements" for their books. According to Adams, Laidlaw began preliminary work on such a supplement as long ago as October, several months after the liberal People for the American Way and the conservative Vitz began attacking textbook publishers for their inattention to religion.

In the end, publishers might even profit from the current attack on their slighting of religion. Many will now be putting out the religious supplements as well as revising the existing books, both of which schools will buy in order to stave off further lawsuits. A few days after Hand's judgment, he agreed to let Alabama provide additional

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

material on religion for use in the classroom rather than remove the banned history books.

Still, if history is any guide, the coming generation of religion-friendly books will insert religion just as awkwardly as the current texts ignore it. A book that brings up the "role of religion" at every opportunity might satisfy people like Judge Hand, but not necessarily liberal groups like People for the American Way, which pointed out the religion deficiency in its report as an afterthought, following choppy sentences, lack of "representativeness," and the lack of violence in the books' accounts of wars. It is an afterthought they may someday regret.

The wages of sin.

EVANGELISTS IN BABYLON

BY HENRY FAIRLIE

SINCE NO ONE'S god would pick his pocket or break his leg, said Jefferson, it did not matter to him if someone believed in one god or in many. But in recent weeks the Rev. Oral Roberts has flagrantly put God to work as a pickpocket, eventually lifting $1.3 million off one Jerry Collins, the owner of two dog-racing tracks in Florida. This earned Roberts, as *Time* put it, "a surprise stay of execution." Roberts then announced that God insisted his life be saved at a cost of $8 million every year, payable to Roberts, which is evidence enough for a grand jury to indict God for running an extortion racket. Since evangelicals regard gambling as a sin, Roberts can claim that he merely relieved Collins of some of its wages—in short, that he is an instrument of divine redistributive justice in this life, a communist of sorts: "From each according to his gullibility. To me according to my greed," which might also be the text of the other big televangelists. They are all beginning to look as if they came out of Fagin's kitchen.

Except for some titillating and tawdry details, the revelations of recent weeks have hardly told us anything we could not have realized for some time. Anyone who has watched or listened to the programs of the star evangelists must have felt his nose twitch at the odor of all the (fairly far advanced) corruptions the flesh is heir to, and of at least four of the Seven Deadly Sins: Avarice, Envy, Gluttony, and Lust. The *Charlotte Observer*, circulating where Jim Bakker built his Heritage USA, has tried persistently for ten years to uncover the truth about his operation; and last February the *Tulsa Tribune* published a series of articles that were the result of a year's investigation into the empire of Oral Roberts. These papers are subject to immediate commercial pressure, such as the withdrawal of advertising, and, as the metro editor of the *Observer* says, when they publish a story in the morning, the evangelists are on the air by eleven to retaliate.

Powerful "national" newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, the two main newsmagazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*, and network television news are not subject to such direct pressures, and have the resources to withstand them. Yet for 20 years they have handled the growth of the evangelical movement and the televangelists with kid gloves. Ten years ago *Newsweek* acclaimed 1976 as the "Year of the Evangelicals," and a little later *Time* made the evangelical empire a cover story. Since then the coverage of the televangelists in the national media has been just as bland. Even since the current stories broke, the reporting has been patchy, and though there have been some efforts to come to grips with the significance of the story, the national media simply have not known how to handle it.

They have been grateful that the pitiful sexual engagements of Jim Bakker and Tammy Faye have provided them with a diversion from the real challenge of the story. "The errant man of God has long been the butt of barroom jokes, a straying sheep of American novels (*The Scarlet Letter*, *Elmer Gantry*)," burps *Time*. But the story isn't about an errant man of God, even though that was what broke it open. The *Post* blazes across five columns of its Style section, "Tammy Bakker and the Singer. Gary Paxton's Friendship with the Evangelist and the Pain that Followed." Tammy had taken the place of Fawn Hall, in the same spot, at the same length, and in an indistinguishable manner.

What is the story? John Corry, the television critic of the *New York Times*, begins a cretinous article about the evangelists' "mastery of the medium" by saying, "Put aside now matters of faith and salvation." Where this leads him may be seen in this passage displaying his rigorous critical standards:

> For sheer amiability, Mr. Bakker and his wife, Tammy Faye, had a quality all their own. . . ; the Bakkers were just Jim and Tammy. This viewer remembers with pleasure a program that Mrs. Bakker ran on her own. There she was in the middle of the big auditorium at the Heritage USA theme park in South Carolina, surrounded by the audience. The camera came in close. Tammy wanted everyone to see her high-heeled boots; they had little flowers stuck on them. "Aren't these silly," she said and giggled. Then she read a poem about Abraham Lincoln and cried. Scoff if you must, but . . .

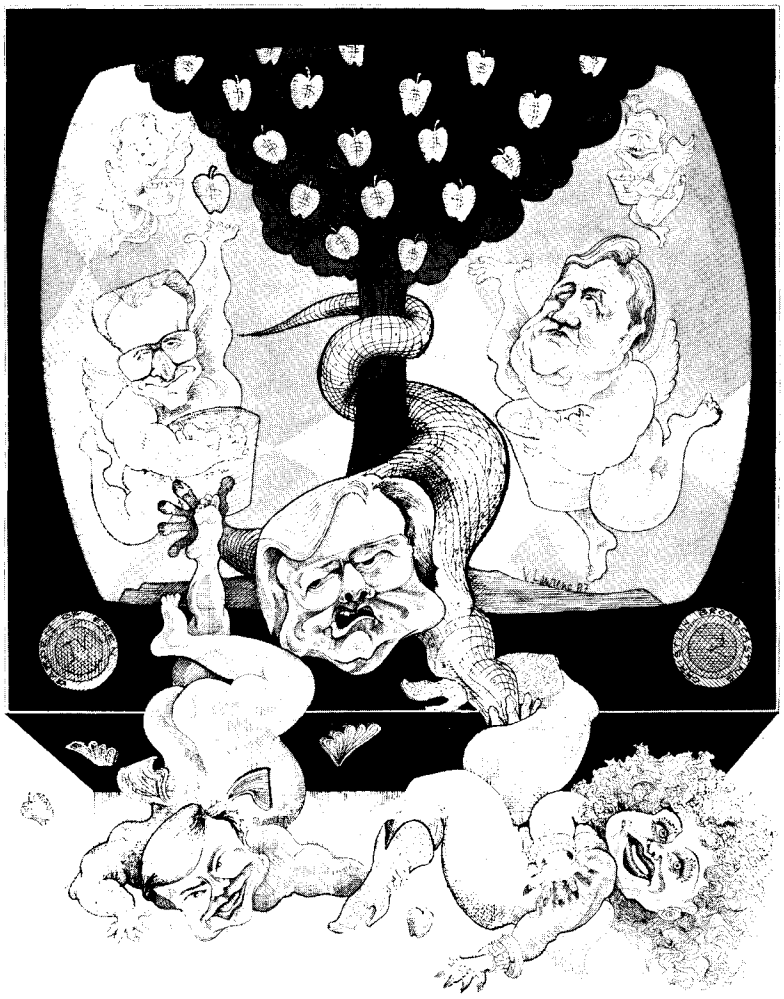
A scoff would hardly seem adequate.

The televangelists' programs are on the screen and are

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

successful not because of their mastery of the medium, but precisely because they trade in "matters of faith and salvation." Beyond the sleaziness and titillation in the current revelations, there is a story that interests us only because it goes to the core of the connection between the avowed beliefs of the evangelicals and the moral precepts they say follow from these beliefs. We would be reading only about some petty corporate scandals if it were not for the radical and disturbing questions the story raises about the correctness of the evangelists' reading of the Bible; the source and nature of the inspiration or motives of their beliefs; the sincerity with which the televangelists hold these beliefs; and their understanding of sin, its place in human life, and even in the ultimate design of God.

Above all, the story asks us to consider the lengths to which the televangelists are ready to go to inveigle (the "Jim and Tammy Show"), manipulate (Jerry Falwell's "Old Time Gospel Hour"), and intimidate (the "Jimmy Swaggart Hour") the vulnerable, the anxious, the largely ignorant, the lost, the afraid, and all too often the poor into believing that they will find consolation and even salvation in their message, if only they contribute, week by week, money they can ill afford, and in many cases they cannot afford at all. The *Washington Post* reported on April 4 that Jerry Falwell is considering returning $79,000 contributed bit by bit by an 82-year-old woman in a North Carolina retirement home who has Alzheimer's disease. And social workers in Altoona, Pennsylvania, recently found that a 67-year-old woman who was about to have her heat turned off for not paying the gas bill had sent $55 to Oral Roberts out of her Social Security check in response to one of his pleas to save his life.



DRAWING BY VINT LAWRENCE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC

Knowing that such cases can be multiplied countless times, and that those who contribute are on average older and poorer than those who do not contribute, it is hard to avoid concluding that these top televangelists are heartless people. Yet David R. Gergen, the editor of *U.S. News and World Report* (who formerly served Nixon, Ford, and Reagan in the White House), writes an editorial telling the media to lay off what he twice dismisses as the recent "squabbling" of the preachers. The media should "keep quiet" like Billy Graham. But for years Billy Graham has denounced the greed of the new breed of televangelists, and in 1979 he took the initiative in setting up the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability. This body today has 354 members. Not one of the top ten televangelists is among them, and they are consistently in breach of its code.

That is not the only license they enjoy. Most of those involved in the present scandals are subject to almost no authority in their ministries beyond their own professed beliefs, rationalizations, fancies, and appetites. They are singularly free of any church with the authority to watch what they preach, and discipline them for their transgressions. Falwell calls himself an independent Baptist, and has no ties to the Southern Baptist Convention. Pat Robertson has vague ties to it, but two years ago, when he said he was speaking for it on the issue of school prayer, he was publicly rebuked by its leaders. Roberts is a layman of the United Methodist Church, but it has never granted him the standing of a minister. Robert Schuller is a wholly freewheeling minister of the Reformed Church in America. As for the Assemblies of God (the denomination that ordained both Jim Bakker and Marvin Gorman), Richard Mouw of the Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, California, told Marjorie Hyer of the *Washington Post* that it "doesn't have a very strict authority structure." Pastors of the church "have a tendency to set up local power bases, and TV becomes just another of these ecclesiastical structures. . . . Those of us who don't like the Vatican telling a priest what he can teach at a Washington university wish there were somebody in the church that could tell Jim Bakker what he could preach in the name of Christ."

Beyond these current examples, religion in America leaves one (especially a European) with the impression

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that in place of churches there are only Do-It-Yourself God Kits. Or as a professor at Calvin College in Michigan said, referring to today's turmoil: "Americans don't want religion. They want God." Accompanying this is the weakness of theology in this country's religions. Where there is no theology there is no religion. There is only personal faith, which is no more religion than the secular humanism that has been eccentrically elevated to that status. Theology may seem designed to uphold only the one true faith of a church. But its continuing task is to prevent the proliferation of countless false personal faiths. One of the best cases for this task is put by an unbeliever, Bernard Shaw, into the mouth of the Inquisitor in *St. Joan*. Joan heard bells in her head. She chose to believe that God spoke to her through them. What would happen if all the people who heard bells in their heads believed that God was speaking to them (like the Son of Sam, one might add)? What was more, Joan's bells told her that France must take up arms in a nationalist war against England. If there were countless Joans, the world would go down in "a welter of war."

THE MAIN spur on all sides in the "unholy war" among the televangelists is greed: staking a claim to the rich bounty that is there to be wrested from media proselytizing. There is an endemic financial insecurity built into each operation. A spokesman for one of the televangelists said that the programs are so expensive that if the contributions begin to fall off you are quickly in trouble. The contributions have been falling off (those to Oral Roberts dangerously, hence the desperateness of his recent appeals), partly because of the fierceness of the competition, and partly because the age group that has given most is now being winnowed by the Grim Reaper.

But beyond the greed, the savagery in the televangelists' war is also due to the fact that they have no authority, no certainty, to which they can appeal. Like all people in a weak position, they can argue only by accusing. When challenged, they have no justification but that which they have chosen to say God has told them to speak. And though not all the evangelicals interpret the Bible as literally as does the fundamentalist Jerry Falwell, insofar as one can trace an ultimate source of what they preach, it is to be found in their personal reading of "what the Bible says." It might be thought that by taking the Bible literally, the fundamentalists are giving it an unchallengeable authority. But they are doing the opposite. They are stripping it of authority. For what they are saying is that anyone may interpret the Bible as he or she wishes. There is no established and authoritative interpretation that stands behind their ephemeral readings.

The televangelists' Bible is not the book to which I listened in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in my boyhood and youth. That book had been strengthened by centuries of interpretation by many of the best and most devout minds in Western civilization. The evangelists leave the Bible with no more authority than is provided by the credentials of Ann Landers.

So when they speak of sin—which is at the heart of the current story—it is impossible to know what they are speaking of—beyond what any individual may happen to dislike, fear, and envy in the behavior of other people. The exposition of the Seven Deadly Sins in Christian theology is a mighty structure—intellectual, moral, and even psychological—that we have inherited from Gregory the Great. One reason the list has prevailed is that, as one commentator has said, the sins were so defined that they were "able to serve as a classification of the normal perils of the soul in the ordinary conditions of life." This is precisely what the evangelical view of sin does not do.

The teaching of the Seven Deadly Sins, and of the traditional Protestant and Catholic religions, is that sin is not only in us, but of us. It is part of our humanity, our human condition in this life. It reflects our free will, the rebellion in Eden. On these terms, it is something with which we can and should wrestle, with some reward. But the sin of the evangelicals is something that has gotten into us from outside. The devil, they say, is not part of our fallen natures, but an alien whom we let in at some weak moment and therefore can expel. The fundamentalists and evangelists do not talk much of Original Sin. They cannot. For that doctrine means precisely that sin is part of our natures. Representing the devil as this alien has its convenience. Jim Bakker and his staunchly loyal followers can say that his downfall is not his fault, but the "work of the devil."

THE ADULTERY of Jim Bakker seems to have been a peculiarly nasty little episode, but the fact that he fucked a church secretary in a hotel room is of small account. The far greater sin is one of which all the big electronic preachers are guilty: the greed or Avarice on which their satrapies within the empire of televangelism have been built. That the gospel and example of Christ are used to exploit the poor and the meek (the very people in whose aid the gospel was preached) to create large fortunes; to build mighty pleasure domes greater than in Xanadu; to surround preachers with security guards so that their ill deeds shall not be investigated; to try to intimidate all opposition; to offer high-heeled boots with flowers stuck on them in place of the crucifix; to build a prayer tower when it was enough for Christ to sink to his knees in Gethsemane; to do nothing in the name of Christ unless they are highly paid for it; to offer a version of Christianity, both in preaching and by example, in which there is not a jot or tittle that recalls the lives, say, of St. Francis of Assisi, St. Teresa of Avila, and in our own time, of Mother Teresa of Calcutta, is a sinning almost beyond the imagination.

The only words we know that were spoken from the Cross search our hearts: "Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani. . . . My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The day one hears that forlorn cry from the prayer tower of Oral Roberts, or any of the other televangelists, then one may grant them some claim to speak in the name of their Lord. Meanwhile, count them among the servants of Mammon. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POWER SOURCE

NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION
The Washington Post
IMAGE-BUILDING IN IOWA
Gephardt AND Kemp
ON THE STUMP
THE PLAGUE OF BLACKS KILLING BLACKS
A NEW GENERATION OF POLITICAL KENNEDYS
WHY THOSE BIG TRUCKS DON'T HAVE FRONT BRAKES

The Pulse of Power and Politics.

With the Reagan years waning, our economic fate unclear and the race for the White House heating up, it's time to plug in to *The Washington Post's* vital coverage of the powerful and the policies they pursue.

It's easy to do– with *The Washington Post National Weekly Edition*, the crisp,tabloid-sized weekly that brings you the same in-depth reports and commentaries that inform the nation's leaders.

Don't let power pass you by. It's yours for just $39 a year–half off our regular cover price.

Fill out and mail coupon today.

The Washington Post NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION

J77T001

☐ **YES!** I want to plug in to the power source. Send me 52 issues of The Washington Post National Weekly for the low subscription price of only $39.00 (50% off the cover price).

Mail to: The Washington Post
NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION
P.O. BOX 11331
Des Moines, Iowa 50340-1331

☐ Bill me.
☐ Payment enclosed.

Name_____

Address_____ Apt._____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Allow 4-6 weeks for shipment of your first issue. Offer good in U.S and possessions.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN ON FILMS

Hanoi and Elsewhere

The Hanoi Hilton is filth. It exploits the sufferings—and deaths—of American POWs in North Vietnam in order to promote a distortion of history: that the peace movement in the United States and elsewhere prolonged the imprisonment of those men by impeding American victory. More realistically than *Rambo,* and therefore more dangerously, it clearly implies the *Rambo* stab-in-the-back idea.

The Hanoi Hilton
(Cannon)

Blind Date
(Tri-Star)

This film, written and directed by Lionel Chetwynd, begins on a U.S. aircraft carrier in the Gulf of Tonkin in late 1964. Michael Moriarty, as a Navy pilot, is asked at a briefing before a bombing mission why he is going on this flight. He replies that, first, he is obeying orders and, second, he wants to help bring freedom to the Vietnamese. He is shot down on the mission, and a fellow flyer, whose leg was broken, is killed by their captors. Moriarty is transported to Hoa Lo prison in Hanoi, which eventually is dubbed the Hanoi Hilton, and is kept there until the release that followed the cease-fire agreement early in 1973. He is of course joined by other Americans as time goes on. All of them are maltreated; some are tortured; some die. They struggle to keep up a semblance of organization among themselves as their only means of "beating" their jailers and torturers.

For the sufferings of these men, there cannot possibly be anything but compassion, together with respect for their courage. It's quite easy to assume that the horrors were even worse than what we are shown. It's also possible to assume that the head of the prison and his guards—and the Cuban military aide who appears later—were as movie-stereotypical as they are shown to be.

If the point of this film were to honor those American prisoners, who would want to quarrel with it? They were military men who obeyed orders—orders empowered by the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution—and their imprisonment was the consequence of doing their duty. They were treated brutally because, the prison commander says, the United States had not officially declared war, therefore the Geneva Convention did not apply, and they were criminals. (It's open to question whether a war declaration would have made the North Vietnamese honor the convention.) The Americans in that prison knew they had been obeying their superior officers and, through their officers, the president and the Congress of the United States.

But the point of *The Hanoi Hilton* is elsewhere. It implies that if it hadn't been for the anti-war protesters, the United States and its allies would have swept north and opened the prison gates. Over the prison p.a. system the Americans hear rebroadcasts of peace chants and slogans. They are visited by Americans—one of them a woman blatantly meant to suggest Jane Fonda—who sympathize with the North Vietnamese and try to persuade the prisoners to confess their "crimes." The peace slogans, the visits to prisoners, certainly occurred. In peace marches in New York and elsewhere, I saw people (relatively few) dressed in Viet Cong black pajamas who burned American flags. Without question, the protests also included Communist sympathizers who wanted North Vietnam to win. But for thousands of us who protested the war, the sanctification of North Vietnam was never our reason; we never held that northern angels were pitted against southern devils. (The postwar behavior of the victors makes such an idea even more sickeningly grotesque.) Our point was solely and strongly that, whatever the rights and wrongs in the Vietnam conflict, the United States ought not to have been involved in it. One of our purposes was to prevent more Americans from joining the prisoners in the Hanoi Hilton and to press for negotiations that would get those prisoners out.

Nowhere does this cynical film state or imply what is now a widely accepted belief: anti-war demonstrations or not, there was no way for South Vietnam, the United States, and their allies to win, short of nuclear blasting. Nowhere in the film is there an attempt to place the real blame for the sufferings of those American prisoners. It is fixed in far higher places than the streets and campuses of America where the protesters marched.

The Hanoi Hilton could hardly have been planned as a "corrective" to *Platoon*—timing makes it unlikely—yet it is already being seen that way. More hogwash. *Platoon* is apolitical, truthfully so. I haven't read or heard that many American soldiers or sailors or pilots in Vietnam were given to speeches like Moriarty's opening oratory. (I wonder how that speech sounds to Vietnam vets.) If Chetwynd's film really *is* trying to tell us that *Platoon* misrepresents the grunts by omitting their political convictions, then *The Hanoi Hilton* is as stupid as it is vicious.

One cold comfort about this film is that it is wretchedly acted. The captors go through sadistic villainies, silken or

FILMS WORTH SEEING

Man Facing Southeast. Exceptional Argentine film. The script, about a man in a mental hospital who claims to be from outer space, is adequate; acting and visuals are extraordinary. (Reviewed 4/6/87)

Outrageous Fortune. Shelley Long and Bette Midler, one delicate, the other daffy, in a nicely improbable spy chase with crackling dialogue. (3/2/87)

Prick Up Your Ears. Both the life of the English playwright Joe Orton and the investigation of that life by his biographer, John Lahr. Grim story, sardonically told. Acting, writing, direction absolutely first-rate. (4/20/87)

Swimming to Cambodia. Spalding Gray's engaging one-man show, about his small role in *The Killing Fields* and what he saw and learned because of it. Jonathan Demme directs with ingenious reticence. (3/23/87)

SK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crude, that are almost like stock footage. None of the American actors gives a creditable account of himself, and some are dreadful, especially the star, Moriarty. He first came to prominence about 15 years ago with performances on stage and screen of oblique truth. Now the truth is gone, and all that is left is oblique trickery, further burdened with Moriarty's belief that his mere presence has power. Not so.

Blind Date is Blake Edwards's third film in nine months. This is about two-and-a-half films too many. Half of the first one, *A Fine Mess*, was amusing slapstick. *That's Life!*, about Julie Andrews as Earth Mother and Jack Lemmon as a male menopausal case, was completely out of key with Edwards's gifts. Now he returns to farce, but this time he doesn't even get it half right.

The chief trouble is (as it almost inevitably is) the script. Dale Launer wrote it on a basic idea reminiscent of *Something Wild* but much more excruciating. We know at once that when Bruce Willis, a rising executive in a money management firm, takes a blind date to an important company dinner, there's going to be trouble. What we don't expect is that the trouble is going to be started clumsily and continued repetitiously. Willis is warned beforehand that his date, Kim Basinger, goes wild on alcohol. Then why did this conservative young man pour champagne into Basinger en route to the dinner? Simple. Launer lacked the invention to get her loaded any other way.

Having busted up one function, Launer rubbed his hands and decided to try for three more: a disco dance, a swank party, and a wedding. Edwards tries hard to give each bust-up some kind of novel slapstick action, but no luck. His invention here is no more agile than Launer's.

What's worse, Edwards accepts Launer's violations of farce form. "Anything goes" is *not* the basic rule of farce. A maniacally jealous ex-swain who chases Basinger in Willis's car, rams through the front windows of three shops, and still continues to chase them turns out to be a successful lawyer. That's not farce: it's bankruptcy.

About Willis and Basinger, nothing need be said. About Edwards, it's a pity that one of the few American directors with a gift for farce should flub so badly, in choice of material and in execution. I hope he'll try again (though not necessarily in the next nine months), more like the maker of *Victor/Victoria*. □

"By turns devastating, hair-raising, merciless, funny, and—in the end—inspiring. It is the kind of book that is capable of changing the future."*

VISIONS AND NIGHTMARES
AMERICA AFTER REAGAN

By ROBERT LEKACHMAN

"It has been a long time since I have read a book that so shook me up and stirred me up...It is a searing analysis of what the Reagan administration has done to our country, and a plausible argument as to what we can do to salvage it."
—*ROBERT HEILBRONER, author of *The Worldly Philosophers*

"Mr. Lekachman's book is an incisive critique of the Reagan Era. It is a story that needs to be told. We can all learn and all profit from his useful work."—GOVERNOR MARIO CUOMO

"Witty, caustic yet good tempered, this book offers a devastating criticism of Reaganite policies and some keen prescriptions for what should come afterward. Bob Lekachman is an economist with brains, heart, and a fine prose style—a rare combination!"—IRVING HOWE

"This is Robert Lekachman at his best. No writer on public issues in our time—social, economic, political—accords praise and inflicts pain with such precision, humor, and wide-ranging competence."—JOHN KENNETH GALBRAITH

"Lekachman's penetrating analysis and sharp wit combine to provide a book that will help all of us to cope with the Morning After in America."
—ROBERT S. McELVAINE, author of *The Great Depression*

"A virtuoso performance."—*Kirkus Reviews*

At all bookstores
MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY
866 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10022

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANSCENDENTAL TEXTS

The Renewal of Literature: Emersonian Reflections by Richard Poirier

(Random House, 244 pp., $19.95)

Richard Poirier's new book is about why, or whether, literature matters. In formulating and responding to this question, for the disposition of which all other critical inquiries ought out of decency to wait, Poirier writes, as he has always done, in a personal voice, rather than by cobbling together blocks of interpretation with some glutinous theory. The result is a deeply felt book that is celebratory rather than adversarial toward its subject, and confident that literature, despite all our worst efforts to debase it by putting it into the service of this or that doctrine, will survive.

Poirier begins by clearing away some presumptions he is glad to leave in the safekeeping of Education Secretary William Bennett and others who profess alarm at the shrinkage of our collective sense of cultural inheritance. He has no patience with the view that literature is a kind of pharmacy from which social restoratives can be obtained. Instead, with a hint of a mischievous taunt at those who worry that the decline of the "humanities" will somehow hasten our descent into social chaos, he advances the proposition that literary energy derives not from the desire to conserve anything, but from the appetite to consume all precedent experience and begin anew.

Poirier asks a mordant question: "Would anyone argue for long that those who read and write literature, especially as a profession, are therefore in any way morally or ethically superior to those who cannot read or write at all?" The answer to this question is that some do so argue, and that others would like to, but that no one who has spent any time in the profession of literary exploitation can possibly do so "for long." To be engaged by literature, Poirier more plausibly believes, is not to be involved in acts of preservation, but to be radically unmoored. "Criticism," he quotes from Emerson, ". . . must consider [even] literature [itself] ephemeral & easily entertain the supposition of its entire disappearance." This is the basic premise of the book: that literature is dangerous to everything that has a formal existence, including itself.

One effect of such a view is to confront us with a paradox: that allusiveness and the quest for originality have been competing characteristics of literary expression at least since the advent of Romanticism. Certain critics in our time have offered an essentially Oedipal explanation for the coexistence of these two seemingly opposed impulses, but Poirier prefers a less programmatic language:

> A literary text . . . generates itself, word by word, only by compliance with or resistance to forms of language already available to it. The impulse to resist, or at least to modify, is necessarily stronger than is the impulse to comply, but the two factors coexist in a sort of pleasurable agitation which often evokes the image of sexual intercourse.

Though Poirier makes clear that he finds these impulses "in the nervous system, so to speak, that passes through the corpus of all literature," he turns first to one American prose-poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson, who, he notes, "refers to the 'oestrum of speech,' to 'spermatic, prophesying man-making words,' to thought being 'ejaculated as Logos or Word.' " He attends to Emerson not because he is restrictively concerned with the American version of this struggle to link the destructive and procreative drives (though he does treat Emerson as the father of an American lineage that runs through William James to Frost and Stevens), but because he finds in Emerson an acute representative of an ancient and universal desire.

That desire is to strip away the accretions of culture until, in Poirier's phrase, there is "nothing at all between [the self] and the infinite"—a virtually carnal need for an end to all inhibiting barriers. Emerson expressed such a desire in his half-grotesque, half-sublime metaphor of the self as "transparent eyeball":

> Standing on the bare ground,—my head bathed by the blithe air and uplifted into infinite space,—all mean egotism vanishes. I become a transparent eyeball; I am nothing; I see all; the currents of the Universal Being circulate through me; I am part or parcel of God.

The literary problem here, over which Poirier lingers, is that language itself cannot be jettisoned during such a flight into the absolute. Language is the writer's engine of ascent beyond culture, even as it is his unwanted ballast. "Christianity," Emerson declared to the assembled worthies of the Harvard Divinity School in 1838, "has fallen into the error that corrupts all attempts to communicate religion." Yet even as he made this statement, Emerson was nothing if not a preacher—an unchurched pastor who insisted that

> it is the effect of conversation with the beauty of the soul [the conversation he thought closed to the fettered Christians of his day] to beget a desire and need to impart to others the same knowledge and love. If utterance is denied, the thought lies like a burden on the man.

Thought lives only in its expression, but expression limits thought.

Emerson tried to deal with this paradox as many other writers have done: by disrupting the conventions that constitute language, and by forcing it closer to what he called nature. "As we go back in history," he believed, "language becomes more picturesque, until its infancy, when it is all poetry," when the "radical correspondence between visible things and human thoughts" is manifest. Emerson was not a symbolist in the modern sense; he did not think of himself as constructing a referential system that might deliver him from the instability and enervation of conventional writing and speech. He believed instead that the "relation between the mind and matter is not fancied by some poet, but stands in the will of God, and so is free to be known by all men." Emerson was not trying to invent a new language; he was trying to recover the natural language of God.

He was, in this fullest sense, a believer. But he was also more particularly an American believer. Poirier rightly notes that American writers have always found more excitement than discouragement in the cultural barrenness within which they have been compelled to work. Henry James, for instance, in his famous catalog of things "absent from the texture of American life"—"no sovereign, no court . . . no church . . . nor palaces, no castles, nor manors"—expressed delight in the freedom afforded by such a weightless culture, even as he decried its provincialism. Emerson, too, voiced an exhilarating sense that the youthfulness of his culture meant that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the density of its "language"—the degree to which it had settled into coercive patterns—was still relatively small. This is what Irving Howe has recently called the "American Newness," what Emerson's generation meant to evoke when it called itself "young America"—for which an original mode of expression was required. Poirier's book is a testimony in and on behalf of this spirit, against the conscription of words "as a servitor to established ideas of the self."

EMERSON'S FIRST BOOK, *Nature* (1836), Poirier remarks, had its "special value and poignancy" in its "exhilarated sense that in the New World an ancient dream—of recovering lost origins—might actually be fulfilled." This has been the daring and the risk of all American writing in the Emersonian vein: the astonishing conviction that unmediated speech and the consequent obliteration of all obstacles between man and God might actually be achieved in this world. It is an idea, however, that by its very nature can never be realized in any fixed form. It can only be approached through the experience, not embodied within the structure, of art—which is the reason that music, whose "language" is the least denotative and most fluid of all the arts, and whose publication and performance can hardly be confused, has an inestimable advantage in affective power over other forms of aesthetic expression. "To literature," Poirier says, reassuring readers nervous about the propriety of believing any longer in literary value, "is left the distinction that it invites the reader to a dialectical relationship to words with an intensity allowable nowhere else."

Emerson sought to foster such intensity through his prose, which, as Poirier excellently conveys, compels the reader to feel as if he were "catching a glimpse of a thing before it is possible to recognize or name it," as if he were living in that "moment just before [a perception] can be classified by language and thus become composed or reposed in a human corpus or text." Emerson's is a teasing style that stretches its sentences with accumulated transitions and forces the reader to search for connectives. Here is an almost random anthology from "Circles" (1840):

> Our life is an apprenticeship to the truth that around every circle another can be drawn; that there is no end in nature, but every end is a beginning; that there is always another dawn risen on mid-noon. . . . We thirst for approbation, yet we cannot forgive the approver. The sweet of nature is love; yet if I have a friend I am tormented by my imperfections. . . . We all stand waiting, empty,—knowing, possibly, that we can be full, surrounded by mighty symbols which are not symbols to us, but prose and trivial toys. Then cometh the god and converts the statues into fiery men, and by a flash of his eye burns up the veil which shrouded all things, and the meaning of the very furniture, of cup and saucer, of chair and clock and tester, is manifest.

Emerson supports his practice with a compatible literary theory. Shakespeare's "imperial muse," he writes, "tosses the creation like a bauble from hand to hand. . . . The remotest spaces of nature are visited, and the farthest sundered things are brought together, by a subtile and spiritual connection." Although Emerson's own style is not densely metaphoric, it is tropic in the sense that Poirier deploys as a definition of literature itself: "Troping is the turning of a word in directions or detours it seemed destined otherwise to avoid." Emerson has a genius for forcing his audience into the electric space between the worn meanings of key words such as "property," "miracle," "eye," "scholar,"

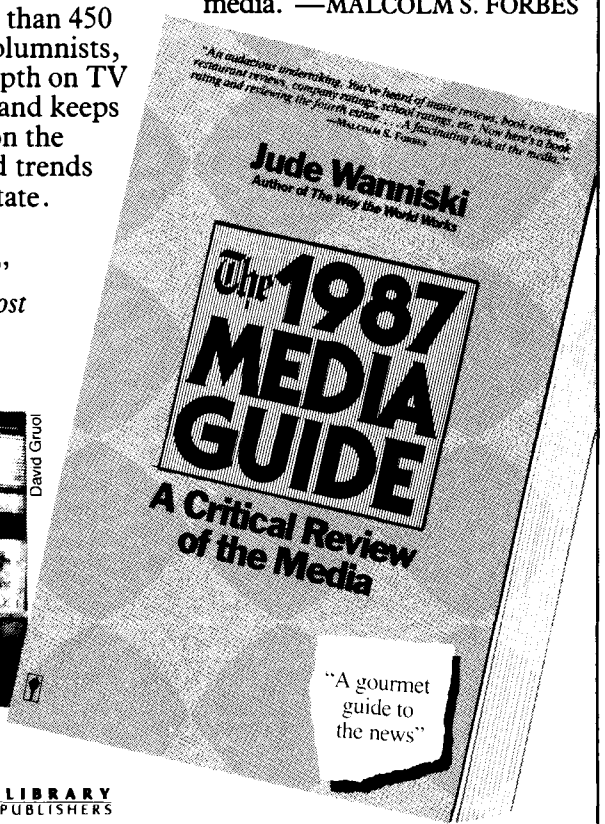
Are you a news gourmet?

Do you demand the highest standards of journalism from your news sources? So does *The 1987 Media Guide*. This unique media-rating publication reviews all the major news periodicals, singles out the best stories of the year, rates more than 450 reporters and columnists, comments in depth on TV news coverage, and keeps you up to date on the power shifts and trends in the fourth estate.

"Wanniski's guide is a must."
—*Washington Post Book World*

"Mr. Wanniski's guide is great fun and his insights into the fourth estate make the *Media Guide* a hard book to put down."—*The Journal of Commerce*

"A fascinating look at the media."—MALCOLM S. FORBES


Jude Wanniski
Author of The Way the World Works
The 1987 MEDIA GUIDE
A Critical Review of the Media
"A gourmet guide to the news"

PERENNIAL LIBRARY
HARPER & ROW PUBLISHERS

$9.95 paperback. At bookstores or call toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and the newly charged meanings with which he prods the old. His style keeps its elements in constant motion, suspending the reader's mind between alternative but mutually exclusive places of rest. He aims to surprise: "The invariable mark of wisdom is to see the miraculous in the common."

In Emerson, this enterprise of what Poirier calls "denudation," or the dislodging of all "conceptual systems and arrangements of knowledge by which man has so far defined himself," is advanced through style as much as through argument. This is not quite the case with William James, whom Poirier treats as the next major figure in a procession of American writers who have renewed the Emersonian faith. Yet James, despite the distinctly un-Emersonian sequential lucidity of his sentences, is, as Poirier rightly suggests, a kindred spirit in his antagonism to the empirical bias of the modern mind. Here James makes the case (in the famous "Stream of Thought" chapter of *The Principles of Psychology*) for the existence of states of consciousness that cannot be understood as responses to physical stimuli:

> Suppose we try to recall a forgotten name. The state of our consciousness is peculiar. There is a gap therein; but no mere gap. It is a gap that is intensely active. . . . A sort of wraith of the name is in it, beckoning us in a given direction, making us at moments tingle with the sense of our closeness, and then letting us sink back without the longed for term. . . . Our psychological vocabulary is wholly inadequate to name [this state]. . . . But namelessness is compatible with existence.

With that marvelous phrase—"namelessness is compatible with existence"—James is saying, with Emerson, that it is in the movement of consciousness, not in its resting places, that human beings may be said to possess "existence." The mind is only alive in its apprehension of a relation between what has been experienced and what is about to be experienced, and since "an impression feels very differently according to what has preceded it" there can be no such thing as duplication of a finished psychological event. There is, quite literally, no access to the past for the human mind; there is only and always the future. One feels how deeply American was this psychology, along with the pragmatist definition of truth that flowed out of it. Emerson had believed in a version of James's "unfinished" universe: "Every ultimate fact," he wrote in "Circles," "is only the first of a new series."

POIRIER TENDS to lift his writers out of their historical moment and to place them in a kind of timeless familial relation. There is nothing wrong with the affiliations that he chooses to emphasize (he moves beyond America, looking back to Wordsworth and forward to Foucault), but they do constitute a kind of elastic circle into which any writer of sufficient "density" can be made to fit. Thus T. S. Eliot, who as a philosophy student at Harvard was less taken with James than with James's rival Josiah Royce, nevertheless "became a poet precisely because he embraced those conditions which prevent others from becoming one." Poirier has in mind the Jamesian, the Emersonian conditions: the capability "of being 'moved' by something even while not knowing what to make of it."

Just as Poirier's canon sometimes feels too inclusive, it can also curtail our opportunity to notice that some of Emerson's contemporaries were engaged in much the same effort to find a language that could express the ineffable. Emily Dickinson, Emerson's admirer, punctuated her poems with deliberately maddening dashes that often make it impossible to determine which way a grammatical unit is "meant" to be read, or where one sentence terminates and the next begins, or which of two nouns linked by a verb is subject and which is object. In similar refusal of what Poirier calls "repose," Melville guaranteed Ahab's self-destruction not by the intensity of his murderous (and coital) frenzy in pursuing Moby Dick, but by the fact that he eventually finds him. "All excitements," Poe remarked in a wry summary of his own engagements with this theme, "are, by a psychal necessity, transient."

These sentiments lie at the heart not only of Emerson's achievement, but of the whole outburst of American literary genius in the middle decades of the 19th century. They persist not only in the psychological theory of William James, but in the sensibility (and the notoriously prolonged sentences) of his brother Henry, who agreed that "experience is never finished . . . never complete," and insisted that the novel, which "undertakes so immediately to reproduce life," must live "upon exercise, and the very meaning of exercise is freedom." It required a not

Rights and wrongs of the Supreme Court 1969-1986

During Chief Justice Warren Burger's seventeen-year tenure the Supreme Court made decisions affecting every aspect of our lives—from freedom of the press to sex discrimination to business regulation. THE BURGER YEARS is the first book to offer a comprehensive, unsparing appraisal of the record by leading authorities in every field of law. They make clear just how serious an impact the inadequate and confusing decisions of this court have had on our rights and on constitutional law.

"Clear-eyed, progressive and preceptive analysis"
—Norman Dorsen, President of the ACLU

"Everybody interested in the work of the Supreme Court will enjoy this provocative book." —Jesse Choper, Dean, University of California at Berkeley Law School

THE BURGER YEARS

Edited with an Introduction by
HERMAN SCHWARTZ

At bookstores now **Elisabeth Sifton Books · VIKING**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strictly literary commentator, Frederick Jackson Turner, to give to this general American dread at the fulfillment of desire its most succinct name: Turner called it the closing of the frontier.

IF POIRIER SOMEWHAT limits his account of Emerson's and William James's cultural situation, he almost entirely omits consideration of their shared past. This is not a serious deficiency in a book that is meant to be suggestive rather than comprehensive. Still, a caution is in order against granting Emerson unwarranted priority in the genealogy of American rhetorical practice that Poirier has in mind. Our sense of Emerson as a figure in history has been imperiled by our tendency to exalt writers for the ferocity of their resistance to their predecessors. Emerson himself gave a great deal of encouragement to that tendency; or rather, Emerson invites us to make Emersonian judgments of Emerson. Thus Poirier is almost exclusively interested in his legacy, indeed in the very problem of what it means to imagine such a celebrator of the unconditioned self as a progenitor or transmitter of anything at all. Yet Emerson did have, as he said of Whitman, a long foreground. That foreground was New England Protestantism.

Emerson was very much aware that his culture (which was engaged during his youth in a sustained ritual of memorializing its past) had been founded by dissenters who attributed all the efficacy of God's word, as their great Episcopal opponent Richard Hooker put it, "unto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhor in the church), but sermons without book, sermons which spend their life in their birth and may have public audience but once." New England congregationalism, of which Emerson's father was a latter-day exponent, and of which the Unitarianism that Emerson (and later, Eliot) found wanting was an attenuated version, arose as a repudiation of a sacramental religion of common-prayer books and formulaic homilies, a religion that hemmed in the explosive idea of the priesthood of all believers.

Those dissenters who left the Old World for the New brought with them not a commitment to ritual, nor an elaborate ecclesiastical structure, but a preaching ministry that in many ways endorsed, in theory and in practice, the "Emersonian" idea of holy speech as a shimmering representation of transcendence. Yet even as they promised a "new mind and a new heart, new affections, new *language*," certain of these dissenters recognized the limits of the word's ability to embody divine truth. And in their own homiletics, they tried to compensate for those limits by forcing their hearers out of all "repose":

> Though Christ cannot be had for money, yet sometimes without expense of money he cannot be had. . . . Diligence in worldly business, and yet deadness to the world [is] . . . such a mystery as none can read, but they that know it. . . . There is need of greater light than the word of itself is able to give . . . [for] spiritual grace [to be] revealed to the soul.

The Puritans' passion for such disorienting sermons—fleeting, often unrecorded utterances whose purpose was to disturb the unexamined serenity of conforming Christians—involved a refusal to submit to the documented authority of the past, even to the prescriptive authority of scripture. They preferred to sanction every living moment—especially those filled by the voice of a gospel minister—as a potential source of grace. When Emerson lamented that "men have come to speak of the revelation as somewhat long ago given and done, as if God were dead," he was speaking in time-honored New England accents. As

The plainspoken memoirs of "one of the giants of American intellectual life."

—R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.

From World War I to the present Sidney Hook has been in the thick of nearly every major political and academic struggle. His memoir *Out of Step* is both an appealing personal history—rich with anecdotes involving John Dewey, Albert Einstein, Max Eastman, Bertrand Russell, Norman Thomas, Bertolt Brecht, Arthur Koestler—and a challenging commentary on the great issues of our age.

"*He has lived the life of the mind and his memoir is a history of the large ideas of this century.*"
—GEORGE WILL

"*Brilliant . . . required reading for those who care about freedom.*"
—JEANE J. KIRKPATRICK

"*An outstanding book, a key to understanding our century, especially the century's leading intellectuals.*"
—JEAN-FRANÇOIS REVEL

OUT of STEP

An Unquiet Life in the 20th Century

SIDNEY HOOK

Harper & Row

At bookstores or call toll-free (800) 638-3030. Major credit cards accepted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Joel Porte has shown, he took pains to align himself with the "antinomians" of New England's past, who had periodically sounded a furious alarm at the reduction of religious passion to prescriptive codes of behavior and belief. Emerson honored that lineage when he remarked that too much "tradition characterizes the preaching of this country; that it comes out of the memory, and not out of the soul."

AS HIS NEW ENGLAND inheritance was not entirely dispiriting to Emerson, so it was a usable past for William James, who made clear in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* that in the work of discrimination between authentic religious experience and rote observance his great American precursor had been Jonathan Edwards. Edwards (as Perry Miller showed nearly 50 years ago in a remarkable essay entitled "From Edwards to Emerson") anticipated the Romantic (or transcendentalist, or pragmatist) conviction that the regenerate mind is always reformulating phenomena according to the divine energy with which it has been infused, rather than fitting phenomena into an inherited structure of perception. For James it was an offense to "pretend that the eternal is unrolling, that the one previous justice, grammar, or truth are simply fulgurating and not being made"; for Emerson, "the one sin is limitation"; for Edwards, "God has respect to something in the creature which he views . . . as rising higher and higher through [an] infinite duration [to an] . . . infinite height, though there never will be any particular time when it can be said already to have come to such a height."

By the time of Emerson's apprenticeship in the Unitarian church, such celebrations of the mind's power continually to remake the world were in wide retreat, at least among genteel, Lockean New England intellectuals, for whom "enthusiasm" had almost become a pejorative synonym for religion. Emerson recognized that new rhetorical energy had been stirring in such figures as Joseph Stevens Buckminster and William Ellery Channing, who in the early years of the century had begun to speak without notes as a response to the growing appeal of evangelical preaching, and had laid new stress on the theme of human creativity. "If a man is inflamed and carried away by his thought, to that degree that he forgets the authors and the public and heeds only this one dream which holds him like an insanity, let me read his paper, and you may have all the arguments and histories and criticism." This is the Emerson—or, more generally, the Emersonian writer—Poirier would recover from beneath the aphoristic literary sage who is too often the sole survivor of critical analysis. Poirier would have us hear the writer who declares with delight that "our culture," in which he willingly implicates himself, "is the predominance of an idea which draws after it this train of cities and institutions. Let us rise into another idea; they will disappear."

The Renewal of Literature is a rare kind of book—a work of criticism that is not reductionist. Its author is an unreconstructed New Critic in the sense that he insists that literature is finally a matter of inflections—between old words and new uses, between one writer's signature and another's, between words as they are written and words as they are read:

> Criticism should engage itself not with rendered experience but with the experience of rendering; it must always go back to acts of rendition, to language . . . but most of us, when we are away from the text, tend to maunder on in a clubbable way about inexactly remembered scenes or characters or bits of phrasing. In that sense when we remember good ol' Proust he becomes not in any important way different from good ol' Tolstoy, even though the two could never have been mistaken for each other when we first met them in their writings.

When I read that passage I thought of my good fortune at having heard Reuben Brower, one of Poirier's teachers, in his last years of college lecturing, as he (and we) savored the Shakespeare sonnets that he spoke to us with book closed and mind open to the surprises each recitation might yield. There are not many such critical performances that approach both the deference and the energy of literature itself. This book is among them.

ANDREW DELBANCO

Andrew Delbanco is co-editing one volume in the forthcoming edition of the sermons of Ralph Waldo Emerson. He teaches American literature and culture at Columbia University.

BOWIE AT THE BAT

Hardball: The Education of a Baseball Commissioner by Bowie K. Kuhn

(Times Books, 352 pp., $19.95)

Bowie Kuhn readily concedes in *Hardball* that as commissioner of baseball between 1969 and 1984 he was often plagued by a serious image problem: much of the press viewed him as a "remote, humorless, patrician stuffed shirt." A towering (six-foot-five), Princeton-educated aristocrat (he is a descendant on his mother's side of the original settlers of Maryland), Kuhn first earned his baseball credentials as a lawyer with the blue-chip firm of Willkie Farr & Gallagher, defending the National League against antitrust suits. It is not the sort of background most sportswriters, or fans, find instantly endearing.

Nor did Kuhn always help matters with his actions as commissioner. In 1969, in a senseless bid to "liven up" the game, Kuhn pushed the introduction of that grotesque mutation, the designated hitter rule, thereby in one stroke wiping out real baseball in half the major leagues. Later in his tenure, he banished from the game the two premier superstars of the postwar era, Willie Mays and Mickey Mantle, because they had accepted promotional jobs with Atlantic City hotels that operated casinos. Kuhn said he was acting to uphold "the integrity of the game" (the phrase had become his mantra) against possible corruption by professional gamblers. It was widely noted at the time that Kuhn did not show similar vigor toward those in management—New York Yankees owner George Steinbrenner, Pittsburgh Pirates owner John Galbreath—who had significant financial interests in horse tracks and horse racing. No gamblers there?

Hardball is Kuhn's long, labored defense of these and other controversial decisions. The book spends too much time on self-righteous justifications and the settling of old scores; the proud and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prickly Kuhn seems determined to expose every unfair attack, double cross, slight, and personal affront he claims to have endured while presiding over the national pastime. (At this late date, to pick just one example that occupies nearly an entire chapter, few readers are going to care whether Kuhn was unjustly maligned for speaking before the Cleveland Wahoo Club on the evening that Henry Aaron hit his record-breaking 715th home run in Atlanta.)

Yet this is also a book of unexpected virtues. There are devastatingly nasty portraits of some members of baseball's strange roster of egomaniacs (Nelson Doubleday, Charles Finley, George Steinbrenner). Moreover, *Hardball* is the first detailed and systematic (if highly skewed) account of one of the most tumultuous periods in the game's history, an era that produced nothing less than an economic revolution in the sport. And, though this may not have been the author's purpose, *Hardball* makes a fascinating backdrop for baseball's latest round of management-labor turmoil—a round in which Kuhn's old friends, the owners, are using monopolistic trade practices, deceptive cries of poverty, and a heavy dose of financial chicanery to mount a counterrevolutionary assault on the newly won economic liberation of the players.

IT IS probably not an overstatement to say that during Kuhn's 15-year reign major league baseball underwent more sweeping changes than at any other time since the aftermath of the 1919 Black Sox scandal. The game enjoyed a remarkable revival, bouncing back from the doldrums into which it had sunk in the late 1960s. In 1986 a record 47.5 million customers paid to watch major league baseball games, the eighth time in ten years that baseball has broken its own attendance record. The 1984 television contract Kuhn helped negotiate with NBC and ABC is providing $1.1 billion in revenues to the two leagues through 1990, a fourfold increase over previous arrangements.

Yet Kuhn's tenure was also rocked by continuous financial turmoil, the rise of militant trade unionism, two player strikes, and a fundamental transformation in the economic structure of the industry. As a result of federal legislation that made sports team ownership a lucrative corporate tax haven, the old guard of team owners (for whom baseball was their only business) was gradually replaced by a new breed (Ted Turner is the prototype) with diversified corporate interests, income to shelter, and deep pockets for long-term investments in new player talent. At the same time, the birth of free agency introduced a curious concept called free enterprise into baseball's sheltered labor market, permitting players for the first time to offer their services to the highest bidder. The result was a massive transfer of wealth to baseball players: between 1976 and 1986, the total annual compensation paid to players jumped from $31.3 million to $268.9 million, a 759 percent increase. The average player salary leapt from $52,000 to $431,000. Baseball players as a group are now the most richly remunerated athletes in the world. Some top stars—Eddie Murray of the Baltimore Orioles, Jim Rice of the Boston Red Sox, Mike Schmidt of the Philadelphia Phillies—will collect in excess of $2 million for suiting up this spring, more money even than network television anchors.

These changes served as prelude for the economic warfare that once again flared up during this year's spring training. The capitalist owners, it turns out, are fed up with free markets. In an attempt to crack down on high salaries, they have collectively set out to destroy free agency (and cheat their fans) through the simple expedient of refusing to sign free agents. (Such prime performers as Ron Guidry, Rich Gedman, and National League batting champ Tim Raines spent this year's spring training stewing back home rather than warming up in Florida because no club would touch them, at least not at today's rates.) The players union has filed a grievance charging collusion. There is growing speculation that the issue will ultimately lead to another long and crippling strike.

It is one of the principal themes of *Hardball* that on the key issue that has divided baseball management and labor for the past decade the owners are in the right—that the new era of free agency born during the author's tenure is wreaking havoc on the game, ruining its finances and undermining play on the field. This contention gives the book a somewhat schizophrenic tone. On the one hand, Kuhn clearly wishes to take credit for baseball's revival. Yet he also argues, with sometimes startling forcefulness, that baseball is going downhill, being destroyed by player greed and the grubby values of the marketplace. Throughout much of this century, writes Kuhn, major league baseball operated as "something of a public trust." Salaries were fair, ticket prices modest, and club owners imbued "with a sense of responsibility for the long-term welfare of the game and the fans." Now, Kuhn says, such placid harmony is gone: clubs face "staggering losses" and players show little interest in anything but their own financial well-being. Indeed, there is no ill that has afflicted baseball over the last decade that Kuhn does not blame on the "insanity" of the marketplace—strikes, an end to discipline, even high earned run averages. Today, he writes, "We see shoddy, halfhearted efforts on the fields, lack of respect for managers, indifference to fans, increasing player days on the disabled list, and abuse of drugs."

Red Smith once wrote that one of Kuhn's predecessors, Albert "Happy" Chandler, had "left office for reasons of health, that is, the owners got sick of him." The same fate ultimately befell Kuhn, but it was not for any defect in philosophical perspective. In spite of

ROBERT'S FRIENDS

A host of invisible presences, they are everywhere,
Robert's friends, swarming like gnats
Or shrinking into corners
Like dust-mice that have escaped the broom;
When you least expect it, you might stumble over one
On the stair, or surprise them in your room.
The air is full of their voices, a muttering descant
Not unlike the speech of elephants, 'resembling
the vibrations from the lowest note
On a big pipe-organ, or the slight shock wave
From far-off thunder,' something felt
Rather than heard. When Robert leaves
A palpable absence swells in the house,
As if a glittering procession had just passed there,
A parade with floats and drum majorettes and bands,
Leaving only the echo of trumpets and marching feet
And a barely perceptible troubling of the air.

CONSTANCE URDANG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his occasional swipes at baseball management's more irrational troglodytes, Kuhn's brief is, as it always has been, the owners' brief. His book is a vigorous plea for a rollback of the hard-won gains of baseball labor achieved under his watch. It is Reaganism in the ballpark, a romantic and idealized vision of baseball's past that continues to hold appeal for many fans, but one that is based on questionable history, slippery economics, and muddled logic. In that sense, the book is a long ball that finally curves foul.

KUHN'S account of how the crucial changes in baseball came about assigns key roles to two improbable figures—in his view, villains. The first is Marvin Miller, a professional labor man, a one-time United Steelworkers of America official who, as president of the Major League Players Association, brilliantly led his troops on their long march into the promised land of free agency. Pharaoh Kuhn gives no ground to his old nemesis. Miller was, he writes, a "zealot" animated by a "deep hatred and suspicion of the American right and capitalism," a megalomaniac "guided by an ego that was the North Star of his life." It was bad enough that Miller aced Kuhn in the public relations arena, building his own pipeline to the *New York Times* sports department, which, in turn, defined the national baseball debate in Miller's terms. Even more galling were the little irritants. Kuhn would invite the wily labor leader out to dinner; Miller, who Kuhn says wasn't even a baseball fan, never reciprocated and always stuck him with the tab. Every overture by Kuhn was rebuffed, each entreaty spurned. Writes Kuhn: "There was about Miller the wariness one would find in an abused animal."

But Miller, like most zealots, was a man with a cause, and it was widely perceived as a just one. Thanks in large part to Oliver Wendell Holmes, who in 1922 wrote a still-baffling Supreme Court opinion exempting baseball from the antitrust laws, baseball owners had long controlled the flow of labor through a feudal instrument known as the reserve clause: once a player signed with a big league club, the player was bound to that club in perpetuity, or until such time as he was traded, was sold, or retired. To the owners, this was necessary to maintain order and balance in the two leagues. (Otherwise, they argued, all the stars would run off to New York and play for the Yankees.) To the players, it was a system that bore an uncomfortable resemblance to serfdom. The grievance was long smoldering. In fact, it was one of the principal reasons for the formation of the National Brotherhood of Professional Baseball Players (the earliest forerunner of Miller's union), whose first president, John Montgomery Ward, angrily denounced the reserve clause as far back as 1887 as "a fugitive slave law which denied the player a harbor or a livelihood and carried him back, bound and shackled, to the club from which he attempted to escape. Once a player's name is attached to a contract, his professional liberty is gone forever."

To Miller, the reserve clause was a dragon to be slain. In 1969, Miller (according to Kuhn) persuaded St. Louis Cardinals center fielder Curt Flood to challenge the reserve clause through an antitrust suit filed in the federal courts. Flood ultimately lost in the Supreme Court (the score was 5-3), but the move was a public relations masterstroke, winning broad public sympathy for the players. A few years later Miller began plotting a new assault by encouraging the filing of labor grievances with baseball arbitrators. The first key break came

The British monthly that illuminates and enlivens world history.

Serious, not solemn. Scholarly, but spritely. HISTORY TODAY is a magazine for anyone who's curious about the world in which they live–and about how it got that way.

In each monthly issue, you'll find provocative ideas, insights and information from some of the world's most celebrated historians. Handsomely illustrated articles and reviews reveal newly uncovered facts and fresh interpretations of historical events, trends and personalities.

Discover for yourself–Take advantage of our Special Introductory Offer for new U.S. subscribers.

12 monthly issues for only $24.95. Save more than one-third off the regular subscription price!

HISTORY TODAY
386 Park Avenue South, #1605, New York, NY 10016

Yes, please enter my subscription to History Today as marked below:

☐ One Year 12 issues $24.95 ☐ Two Years 24 issues $49.90

Payment must accompany order.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

NR1

HISTORY TODAY
Volume 37 March 1987 £1.40 (USA $3.50)
IRONBRIDGE MUSEUMS FREE Admission offer inside
New series: VICTORIAN VALUES
The Reformation and the Red Light
Troops and Trades Unions, 1919
Brackmann and Distorted History under the Nazis
BOOKS Ronald Hutton reviews Jonathan Clark's Revolution and Rebellion

In future issues

- The Film Industry and Vietnam
- Henry VIII: Courtiers and Kingship
- The Sandinista Heritage
- Dickens and Victorian Values
- Poland's 20th Century History
- Growing Old in Ancient Greece
- Constitutional Convention of 1787
- Organised Crime in 50's America
- Jane Austen and Trafalgar

Our guarantee: should you ever decide that you no longer want to receive History Today, just let us know and we will refund payment for all unmailed issues.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in 1974 when a genial, grandfatherly arbitrator named Peter Seitz declared that Oakland Athletics owner Charles Finley had forfeited his right to pitching star Catfish Hunter by failing to pay a required insurance annuity. Hunter was declared a free agent. Baseball's first true bidding war began.

ENTER villain No. 2, George M. Steinbrenner III. A flamboyant multimillionaire shipyard executive from Cleveland, Steinbrenner was, in Kuhn's not unconventional view, a "Titanic in search of an iceberg," a reckless, boorish "bully" with a penchant for intimidating his staff, his players, umpires, or anybody else who displeased him. In January 1973 Steinbrenner had been the lead member of a group that bought the New York Yankees from CBS for $10 million. He announced his firm determination to restore the game's most famous franchise to its former glory. Instead, he soon found himself indicted by a federal grand jury on 14 felony counts relating to the funneling of illegal corporate contributions to the re-election campaign of Richard Nixon. Steinbrenner (whose lawyer, Edward Bennett Williams, would later buy the Baltimore Orioles) pleaded guilty to a single conspiracy count, paid personal and corporate fines of $35,000, and then was "suspended" from baseball by Kuhn for two years.

Kuhn makes much of what he regards as his tough stand against Steinbrenner, but the suspension was virtually meaningless, in a way that would have profound, long-term consequences for baseball. A few weeks after Kuhn acted, the Hunter auction began, and was quickly won by the Yankees—Gabe Paul, Steinbrenner's designate, hooked the Catfish with Steinbrenner's money by offering a then unheard of $3.5 million contract that included salary, bonuses, life insurance, attorney's fees, and appearance fees. (Steinbrenner's private jet swooped down to Ahoskie, North Carolina—Hunter's hometown—picked up Hunter and his lawyer, and flew them back to New York for a press conference. So much for the suspension.) For Kuhn, who tried desperately to head off the auction, a new and dangerous precedent had been set: "A franchise that had been purchased for $10 million two years before had just committed 35 percent of that price to one player. It was fiscal insanity."

As this and other passages suggest, Kuhn rightly puts a large part of the onus for baseball's salary inflation on the owners. Steinbrenner was far from the only offender, but he came close to inventing the offense. In late 1975, arbitrator Seitz made an even more crucial decision in a grievance filed by pitcher Andy Messersmith: in one groundbreaking ruling, he abolished the reserve clause and formally threw open the gates of free agency. Steinbrenner barreled through with a spending binge that would go unrivaled until the Pentagon started spending hundreds of dollars for coffee cups. He signed Reggie Jackson to a five-year, $3 million contract. Rich (Goose) Gossage got a $2.8 million contract. Reliever Rawly Eastwick (does anybody remember this guy?) signed for $1.1 million. And on it went: in 1980, Steinbrenner signed right fielder Dave Winfield to a ten-year contract worth $22 million.

Such figures strike many as unseemly and, of course, there is always the question of societal values. In the summer of 1983, Steinbrenner demanded that his $10-an-hour shipyard workers in Lorain, Ohio, take a $2.50-an-hour wage cut. When the workers balked, Steinbrenner shut down the yard and eliminated 1,500 jobs. That is almost twice as many workers as there are players employed in the major leagues; the salary of one Winfield probably could have saved the yard. But as Steinbrenner noted sometime later, Dave Winfield fills ballparks, while the workers in Lorain were making high-cost ships that nobody wanted to buy. This is the harsh calculus of the market, and in baseball it redounded to the players' benefit. The demand for baseball talent (which could win pennants, fill stadiums, and earn owners lots of money) outstripped the supply, pushing salaries through the roof. Why is there anything wrong with this?

KUHN'S CASE ultimately rests on two premises. The first is that free agency creates the potential for imbalance among baseball clubs. The essential raison d'être of the reserve clause was always that it maintained competitive balance: without it a few rich clubs offering big money will buy up all the stars. It is something of an axiom that no debate in baseball is ever settled conclusively, but this one may be the first. Between 1921 and 1964, the halcyon days of Kuhn's reserve system, the New York Yankees won 29 American League pennants and 20 World Championships. It was the most awesome dynasty the game has

"Of books on Berenson . . . the richest is Ernest Samuels's biography."
—John Pope-Hennessy, *New York Review of Books*

BERNARD BERENSON
The Making of a Legend

ERNEST SAMUELS

Following his remarkable first volume, Samuels delves deeper into the life of the controversial connoisseur of Italian Renaissance art. A work of impeccable scholarship, this absorbing book is both a portrait of the man and a chapter of social and cultural history.

$25.00

The Belknap Press of
Harvard University Press
Cambridge, MA 02138

Want to brush up on a foreign language?

With Audio-Forum's intermediate and advanced materials, it's easy to maintain and sharpen your foreign language skills.

Besides intermediate and advanced audio-cassette courses—most developed for the U.S. State Dept.—we offer foreign language mystery dramas, dialogs recorded in Paris, games, music, and many other helpful materials. And if you want to learn a *new* language, we have beginning courses for adults and for children.

We offer introductory and advanced materials in most of the world's languages: French, German, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, Mandarin, Greek, Russian, Portuguese, Korean, Norwegian, Swedish, and many others.

Our 15th Year

Call 1-800-243-1234 for FREE 32-p. catalog, or write:
AUDIO-FORUM Room K477
96 Broad St., Guilford, CT 06437

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seen. By the end of 1986, the majors had had ten years' experience with free agency. During that period only one team—Steinbrenner's Yankees—won the World Series twice in a row, in 1977 and 1978. Since 1978 no team has even won a pennant back to back; no team has made it into the World Series more than twice. In short, it was the most competitive ten-year period since the first World Series was played in 1903.

Nor is this as surprising as defenders of the reserve clause would have us believe. Even for big bucks, not everybody wants to play for the Yankees (especially under its current management). More important, second-rate clubs in smaller markets discovered that they too had to compete for baseball talent; indeed, in some respects they had even more of an incentive to do so. In the language of economists, the marginal utility of one baseball standout is greater to a second-division club stacked with mediocrities than to a pennant contender already staffed with all-stars. Thus, in 1980, a team like the Oakland A's (still owned by Finley) was paying a miserly average salary of $55,000, less than a fourth of the $242,000 average then being paid by the league-leading Yankees. Within four years, the gap had been almost entirely closed: the A's under new management were paying an average $384,000, not that much lower than the Yankees' $458,000. While this salary competition has obviously produced a bonanza for the players, it has also resulted in tighter pennant races, more competitive teams, and more exciting baseball for fans—consequences of free agency entirely ignored by Kuhn.

KUHN'S other premise is the owners' complaint, which he endorses, that booming salaries are bankrupting the game. Two years ago, in the midst of labor negotiations, Kuhn's successor, Peter Ueberroth, forced the owners to open up their books (something Kuhn never did). They purported to show 20 teams losing money in 1984, with net book losses averaging $2.2 million per team, or well over $50 million for the industry. But such figures are virtually meaningless. These book "losses" ignore the handsome tax breaks that have long allowed team owners to depreciate a host of "intangible assets"—including stadium leases, franchise values, and the very player contracts that they complain so loudly about. Even more significantly, the profit-loss statements overlook the extent to which larger corporate enterprises (such as media conglomerates and advertisers) derive from team ownership huge financial rewards that aren't reflected in the accounting books. Atlanta Braves owner Ted Turner used his ballclub to build an audience for the Turner Broadcasting System's Superstation WTBS; the club continues to provide cheap (below market rate) programming for the station, as well as functioning as a lucrative vehicle for advertising (about $35 million worth in one recent year, according to an estimate by a former Turner executive). The Chicago Cubs is a similar revenue source for WGN, the superstation of its corporate owner, the *Chicago Tribune*. John Labatt, Ltd., Canada's largest brewery, uses its 45 percent stake in the Toronto Blue Jays to advertise its beer on television broadcasts of the game. The full promotional benefits that Anheuser-Busch reaps from its team, the St. Louis Cardinals, are probably incalculable.

In the final analysis, the only real economic test for judging the health of the industry is the market value of baseball clubs when they come up for sale. By this yardstick, baseball appears to be doing just fine. In 1980 the publishing firm of Doubleday and Co. bought the New York Mets for the then unprecedented price of $21.1 million. There was speculation at the time that this was one baseball record that would truly stand forever. It barely stood a year. In late 1981 the Philadelphia Phillies went for $30 million. Two years later, Thomas S. Monaghan, president of Domino's Pizza, Inc., bought the Detroit Tigers for $54 million. Last October, to complete the cycle, Nelson Doubleday and a partner bought back the Mets from the Doubleday firm. The price tag: $100 million, a nearly 500 percent appreciation in value over the 1980 selling price. This is a failing industry?

Clearly, some ballclubs are losing money; for the most part, they are the second-rate clubs that finish near the bottom of their divisions. When they spend enough money and buy or hire the right players and coaches, they prosper. In fact, there are few branches of the entertainment business in which there is such a close correlation between the quality of the product and success at the box office. In 1979, when the Mets finished dead last in the National League East, they drew a pathetic 788,905 fans. Last year, they won the World Series and packed in 2,767,601. This, one scarcely needs reminding, is the American way: capitalism hard and pure. It has long been good enough for the players (whose salaries stood or fell on their playing performance even before free agency). The pleadings of Bowie Kuhn notwithstanding, it ought to be good enough for the owners as well.

MICHAEL ISIKOFF

Michael Isikoff is a reporter for the business section of the *Washington Post*.

BRIDGE UNDER TROUBLED WATERS

Running Critical: The Silent War, Rickover, and General Dynamics by Patrick Tyler

(Harper & Row, 374 pp., $19.95)

No instrument of modern military power is so important to national security, and so ill-understood, as the submarine. America's ballistic missile submarines carry fully half of our strategic arsenal at sea, and attack submarines are critical to the U.S. Navy's domination of the world's oceans. Still, most Americans know more about the esoterics of the nonexistent "Star Wars" system, not to mention other aspects of modern warfare, than they do about submarines. Perhaps this should come as no surprise. After all, the whole point of a submarine is to remain hidden. How can an ugly, oversized cigar compete with the grace of a fighter jet, or with the majesty of an aircraft carrier? A new bomber roars off into the sky, the latest battle tank charges across a field, both brought into our living rooms courtesy of the evening news. And the submarine? Well, it sinks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And yet the very mystery of submarines occasionally captures the public's imagination. Novels like *Run Silent, Run Deep* and *The Hunt for Red October*, as well as movies like *Das Boot*, periodically remind us that there is another world of deadly confrontation hidden beneath the waves. Patrick Tyler's *Running Critical*, though a work of journalistic investigation, is also a thriller. It begins with a Soviet submarine in high-speed pursuit of the American aircraft carrier Enterprise. Startled by this threat, the U.S. Navy decides to build a new attack submarine. The program is accompanied by corruption, massive cost overruns, and the clash of titanic egos at the peak of the American military-industrial complex. The sad conclusion is our deployment of an inferior submarine whose defects lurk unseen, ready to tip the naval balance in the Soviets' favor in a moment of crisis or conflict.

In telling this story, Tyler exemplifies both the best and the worst that a nonspecialist's eye can bring to such a complex arena of U.S. national security. His chronicle of the abuses that occur when the power to allocate the nation's defense dollars is concentrated in too few hands is excellent. The "inside story" of the battles between the Navy and General Dynamics, America's largest defense contractor, is investigative journalism at its best. Even the description of work in the shipyards, with all its heat, grime, and backbreaking labor, rings true.

But Tyler's book reaches too far. In attempting to understand the subtleties of submarine warfare, not just submarine production, Tyler is clearly in, well, over his head. Many of his central assertions are simply wrong, and together they undermine his thesis, which is a gross inflation of the Soviet threat and an unjustified maligning of the U.S. submarine fleet.

THE STORY, as Tyler tells it, began in January 1968. As the aircraft carrier Enterprise steamed out of San Francisco Bay bound for Vietnam, a Soviet November-class attack submarine fell in behind. Confident that he could outrun his pursuer, the American captain gradually increased speed. The Soviet submarine was expected to peak at about 25 knots, but the Enterprise could not shake her. Finally the November dropped back, but not before sustaining a speed of 31 knots. American intelligence officials were stunned.

Armed with newly revised estimates of Soviet capabilities, Adm. Hyman Rickover mobilized his supporters in Congress to approve a new American submarine. This is when the trouble started. Rickover pushed through a new "fast attack" design that would eventually become the Los Angeles-class (SSN-688) submarine. He also helped see to it that Electric Boat, a division of General Dynamics, was awarded a majority of the new contracts. In this he was seeking to establish a healthy alternative to Newport News shipyard, then dominant in Navy submarine building, to improve competition. But the chairman of General Dynamics, David Lewis, allowed Rickover to maneuver him into the submission of impossibly low bids.

Thus the program was in trouble from the very beginning. Electric Boat simply could not produce submarines as rapidly and inexpensively as Lewis had promised. As labor and quality control problems mounted, the inevitability of major delays and cost overruns became apparent to anyone who cared to look. Lewis did not. Preoccupied with preserving the Navy's business and building up General Dynamics, Lewis ignored repeated warnings from his own managers. By the time that P. Takis Veliotis took over as general manager of Electric Boat's Groton, Connecticut, shipyard in 1977, the Los Angeles program was a shambles. The tough Greek immigrant shipbuilder eventually turned the mess around, but someone had to pay for the mistakes of his predecessors. These mistakes added up to well over a billion dollars in overruns.

Lewis's strategy was to blame the Navy for the overruns, citing various revisions that the Navy had requested along the way. While everybody knew that Electric Boat's claims were largely phony, Lewis's trump card was a threat to stop construction of Rickover's precious submarines—including the Trident as well as the Los Angeles-class boats. This would hurt the Navy nearly as much as Rickover could hurt General Dynamics. Eventually the claims were settled. General Dynamics received additional payments of over $700 million, while other claims were dropped in return for the promise of more contracts for Electric Boat. By this time the Reagan administration was in office and Rickover was on his way out. The admiral's forced retirement was followed by allegations of illegal gift-taking over the years. Meanwhile, Veliotis had fled to Greece to avoid prosecution on charges

Call for any current book
● Amex, MasterCard, Visa or check.
● We ship immediately, anywhere in the world. ● Gift wrapping available.
● Mail orders welcome.
BOOK CALL
1-800-255-2665
In CT or Worldwide (203) 966-5470
59 Elm Street, New Canaan, CT 06840

"THE SAME LIBERALS who deny that school prayer can be truly voluntary and nondenominational are loath to admit that texts expressing their own world view are anything but objective, impartial accounts that should be mandatory, even if they offend religious parents."

For a free copy of the current issue of the National Review write to Dept. R-30 150 East 35th St. New York, N.Y. 10016

THE BILL OF RIGHTS T-SHIRT

First Ten Amendments to the Constitution screened on a Quality T-Shirt
WRITE FOR FREE CATALOGUE
CORONA GRAPHICS
DEPT. 102
395 RIVER ROAD
BOX 1084
E. LIVERPOOL, OHIO 43920

SPECIAL
2 For $13.95 PPD!
$9.95 Each PPD.
Red/White/Lt. Blue/Yellow
S/M/L/XL

HOME STUDY COURSE IN ECONOMICS

A 10-lesson course that will help you understand inflation, unemployment, urban crises, taxes and other problems. Tuition free, small charge for materials.

Henry George
Institute
5 E. 44 St.
New York, NY 10017

Please send information on your home-study course.

Name and address

_____

_____

_____

_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of kickbacks he accepted before joining Electric Boat. And Lewis, excoriated in Congress for his conduct as chairman of General Dynamics, resigned in disgrace.

In reconstructing this saga, Tyler had access to numerous documents and tape recordings collected by Veliotis during his stormy tenure at Electric Boat. Tyler also interviewed each of the principals at length. This lends his narrative a remarkable authenticity, though it is occasionally marred by the presence of docudrama details. ("These were Veliotis's ghosts. They walked with him every evening and spoke to him each time he thought his mind could rest, each time the cacophony of the yard was stilled by his fatigue . . . .")

BUT THE real problem with Tyler's book is its assertion that the chaos of the Los Angeles program produced a second-rate submarine. This is simply false. The Los Angeles was the best attack submarine in the world when it was first deployed over ten years ago, and it remains so to this day. How could Tyler be so wrong? It may be because his understanding of submarine warfare is limited to what he calls the "holy trinity of speed, stealth, and depth." Because the Soviets have some faster and deeper-diving submarines, while we have the advantage only in quietness, the Soviets must be ahead. By such overly simple reasoning, the score is U.S.S.R. 2, U.S. 1.

The fact is that in submarine warfare stealth is paramount. A recent article in the *Submarine Review* put it nicely: "Stealth is the raison d'être for submarines. Any other performance characteristic which might jeopardize stealth may rightfully be challenged." Why? Because virtually every aspect of the attack submarine's mission depends on surprise. The submarine that sacrifices stealth for speed has two strikes against it before the shooting ever starts.

Consider Tyler's description of the Soviet Alpha, a submarine he wrongly believes is "decidedly superior to any U.S. submarine." How might the Soviets employ this high-speed, deep-diving marvel? "To roar into the ocean firing missiles and torpedoes against her primary targets, U.S. carrier battle groups." Fortunately, however, a fast-moving Alpha is so noisy that it probably could not get anywhere near an American carrier, and certainly not within weapons range. The Alpha's "roar" is so loud that during its early trials in the Norwegian Sea it was reportedly heard by our underwater sensors as far away as Bermuda.

Obviously Tyler is confused. For example, he writes about the importance of speed in a "submarine dogfight." Of course speed is important in a "dogfight," but this is a scenario that our lone, silent hunters are unlikely to encounter. Superior stealth enables our attack submarines to shape the tactical situation to their advantage, and to steer clear of situations where they are obviously outgunned. The submarine that can hear the other guy first, and remain undetected through the critical approach phase of a torpedo or missile attack, has the upper hand.

What about depth? According to *Running Critical*, Rickover traded the Los Angeles's deep-diving capability for speed by shaving the hull too thin. Furthermore, he did not even tell the Secretary of the Navy about this compromise, and the Navy's civilian leadership forgot to ask how deep the boat could go. The sheer unbelievability of this episode aside, the question of depth is still legitimate. As Tyler puts it, a deep-diving capability is essential for survival, "to head for the bottom and let the ocean absorb the impact of an enemy weapon." In some situations this is true, though in others the crushing pressure at great depths can enhance the destructive power of an attacker's torpedo or depth charge, and actually decrease a fleeing submarine's chances of survival.

In a larger sense, an overemphasis on depth is an admission of weakness. After all, which soldier is likely to prevail: the one who plans a bold surprise attack or the one who worries more about a safe retreat? The fact is that our quieter submarines do not need to go as deep as the Soviets' louder ones. As submarine expert Karl Lautenschläger recently wrote, "The first element of a submarine's ability to survive is not its capability to defend itself or its resistance to damage as in a surface ship; it is its ability to remain undetected."

Time and again, Tyler raises the specter of Soviet submarines outracing and sinking our aircraft carriers. We do face certain challenges from the Soviet submarine fleet, but this is not one of them. Tyler's misplaced fears suggest that he should have done a bit of research on how the Soviets actually operate. He would have learned that the primary mission of the majority of Soviet attack submarines is the protection of their "boomers," that is, of their ballistic missile-firing submarines. Unlike our silent Poseidons and Tridents, which roam the open seas undetected, the Soviets' noisy missile submarines generally stay close to their home waters under heavy guard. A secondary mission is to enhance barrier operations, and to guard various approaches to the Soviet homeland. And the third priority is to defend the principal combatants of the Soviet surface fleet. By the time these missions are assigned, there are not many submarines left for strikes against NATO navies.

And there are other factors that Tyler has neglected to consider in his appraisal of the U.S.-Soviet "submarine balance." One is detection ability. Not only are American submarines quieter, but they also carry much more sensitive and sophisticated sonar systems, which effectively widens our edge in "quietness." Another is the panoply of other antisubmarine assets: our airborne and ship-based systems for detecting, tracking, and killing enemy submarines are far superior to the Soviets'. Still another is "fire control": our submarines have vastly superior computerized combat systems, which gives them the upper hand in a tactical encounter. Also important in any serious analysis is the fact that our captains are well trained in flexible and adaptive tactics; Soviet crews, when they do practice, tend toward rigid, centrally orchestrated maneuvers. Even geography gives the United States an advantage. While the U.S. Navy has unlimited access to the seas, Soviet submarines must pass through a few narrow "choke-points" where our underwater sensors track them closely. Nor are we standing still. Improved silencing, more weapons, and better fire control systems are today nearly doubling the warfighting capability of the Los Angeles class over its original version, according to the men who pilot them.

IT IS CLEAR that in this measure of military strength the Soviets are at a disadvantage. There is more to submarine warfare than speed, and they know it. Since the days of Tyler's much-admired Alpha (its design, by the way, was halted after only six boats), the Soviets have built the heart of their attack force around the Victor class. And as three successive variants of Victor have been deployed, they have wisely sacrificed some speed for quiet. The latest Soviet attack submarines approximate the Los Angeles class in speed, but are still somewhat noisier. Still, the Soviets have narrowed the "quietness

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gap," and this is the real challenge to America's undersea superiority.

For the foreseeable future, our lead is secure. But to maintain this edge well into the 21st century will require continued major investments. Although the future SSN-21 Seawolf attack submarine should expand our capabilities considerably (though funding for this project has recently come under attack in the House), some critics believe that the other elements of anti-submarine warfare have not received enough priority in Reagan's defense buildup. And this raises some broader questions about the wisdom of the "maritime strategy" adopted by this administration.

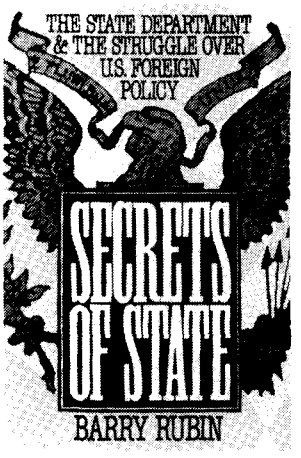
It is not just the money spent on aircraft carriers and other surface ships, at the expense of submarines and anti-submarine warfare, that is worrisome. It is the strategy itself, which calls, in the event of war, for a forward thrust into Soviet waters. Some fear that such tactics will play to the Soviets' strengths. They warn that our ships and submarines will be steaming into the most heavily defended waters, where the Soviets have a clear advantage. In particular, our attack submarines may be "tasked" for cruise missile strikes against the Soviet homeland, at great risk to their survival. They may also be sent to seek out Soviet missile submarines in their "bastions" under the Arctic ice, where the Soviets may have the upper hand in close-range combat. And there is also the probability that the Soviets will view any attempt to sink their ballistic missile submarines as a threat to their nuclear retaliatory force, thus increasing the likelihood of a nuclear confrontation.

THESE ARE the real issues our submariners face: Soviet progress in quieting, our questionable spending priorities, and a very high-risk wartime strategy. Preoccupied with speed, Tyler somehow missed all this. If he had limited himself to the Rickover-Lewis-Veliotis story, this might have been an excellent book. Instead he chose to sensationalize a threat that he does not even understand. Tyler's unfamiliarity with military matters shows in some hilarious gaffes. For example, he describes the carrier Enterprise as loaded with enough "ordinance" to "blow up half a continent." The only ordinance aboard a U.S. Navy ship is probably the Uniform Code of Military Justice. "Ordnance" refers to weapons and ammunition. Tyler also mentions the possibility of Admiral Rickover be-

The Inside Story on Political Insiders

"In *Secrets of State*...there is a lot of accumulated wisdom about the senior department of government, how it operates or doesn't and the eternal clashes between the professional foreign service officers and the president and his political appointees."—*Washington Post Book World*

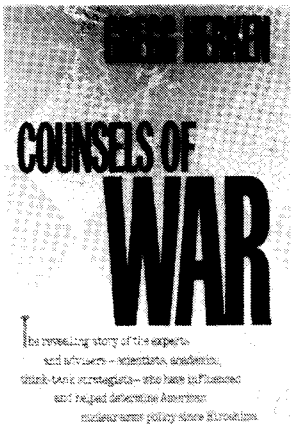
"Filled with candid yet balanced, often fascinating, appraisals of the leading actors."—*Baltimore Sun*



Secrets of State, a history of American foreign policymaking, accurately predicted Irangate, the Reagan administration's most severe foreign policy crisis to date. An eye-opening analysis of how foreign policy decisions are made, who makes them, and how they are implemented, the book draws on memoirs and archival documents, as well as interviews with more than 150 government officials.
351 pp. paper $8.95

"A provocative attack on the notion that only a handful of experts should make nuclear arms policy...Meticulously researched."—Dave Griffiths, *Business Week*

"Brilliant...incisive...The focus of Herken's compelling study is the cluster of scientists and strategists on campuses, in government agencies, and at institutions such as Rand who, ever since Hiroshima, have been thinking about the unthinkable."—William E. Leuchtenburg, *Washington Post Book World*

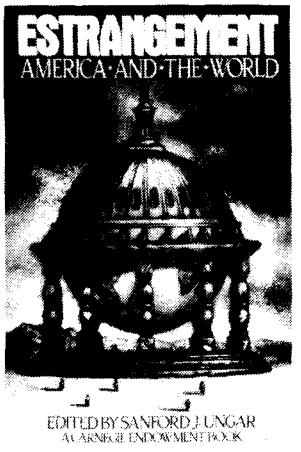


The first book to trace the deliberations and shifting recommendations of civilian experts on the bomb from Hiroshima to the Reagan administration, ***Counsels of War*** is now expanded to include discussion of "Star Wars" and the possibility of nuclear winter.
448 pp. paper $10.95

"Looks in some ways like the opening gun in the approaching reaction against the Reaganite, or neoconservative, view of the world....[The book's contributors are] exceptionally distinguished; [and] the changes they ring on the theme of U.S. 'estrangement' from the world are various [and] stimulating."—Edwin M. Yoder, Jr., *Washington Post Book World*

"Should be required reading for all members of the American elite."—*The Economist*

Contributions by Frances FitzGerald, Lester Thurow, Geoffrey Hodgson, and others
368 pp. paper $7.95



At better bookstores or directly from

OXFORD PAPERBACKS

Oxford University Press • 200 Madison Avenue • New York, NY 10016

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing "court-marshaled." What does this mean—tackled by a bailiff? Could he have meant to say "court-martialed," meaning a military trial?

The submarine business is critical and complicated. As public and congressional awareness grows, the need for accurate information and a balanced understanding is vital. Having earlier distorted our military priorities with mythical bomber "gaps" and missile "gaps," the last thing we need is a phony "submarine speed gap." Unfortunately, in Tyler's manner, some on Capitol Hill are now sounding the alarm about the Soviets' supposed "critical" speed advantage.

If *Running Critical*'s exposé of the problems inherent in our defense procurement system encourages greater vigilance in the future, it will have performed a great service. However, if it encourages a new misperception about the Soviet threat, it will do our national security an even greater disservice.

ROBERT ENGLISH

Robert English is a senior analyst with the Committee for National Security. From 1982 to 1985 he was a Defense Department policy analyst covering programs that included anti-submarine warfare.

TURNING POINT

Dostoevsky: The Stir of Liberation, 1860-1865 by Joseph Frank

(Princeton University Press, 389 pp., $29.50)

This third volume of Joseph Frank's remarkable *Dostoevsky* shifts the biography's center of gravity and alters all previous accounts of the writer's formation. Covering only five years—the briefest time span in the work to date—it explains how those years mark a hitherto unrecognized but distinct and crucial period in Dostoevsky's development.

The preceding volume (*Dostoevsky: The Years of Ordeal, 1850-1859*), when it appeared two years ago, seemed, by reconstructing in nuanced detail the effects of prison and exile, to have isolated the experience that turned a promising young writer into the Dostoevsky of the major novels. Not so, Frank discovered in the course of researching this one: the crucial transition was a two-stage affair. If Siberia forever altered Dostoevsky's outlook by replacing abstract speculation with the data of concrete and extreme human behavior, it was the subsequent half decade of wholehearted immersion in the social and cultural politics of the day (as editor of two short-lived and embattled cultural journals, *Time* and *Epoch*) that forced the practical conclusions that were to remain in force throughout the rest of his career, shaping the themes of the major novels, which begin with *Crime and Punishment* in 1866.

Volume Three was originally intended to reach those novels, but it has ended by doing something more important. After all, whole books about each of them (not to mention hundreds of critical articles) already exist. What we have not had until now is a detailed analysis of the process from which they emerged. That process, on Frank's showing, was primarily political and journalistic. Dostoevsky, he insists, "made no distinction between 'eternal' issues and those of the current scene," and precisely for this reason—"because he could sense the permanently significant in and through the seemingly ephemeral—he was ultimately capable of writing those ideological novels which constitute his chief claim to glory."

There are surprises here even for confirmed Dostoevskians. "We foresee, and foresee with reverence, that the character of our future activity must be in the highest degree pan-human, that the Russian idea, perhaps, will be the synthesis of all those ideas which Europe has developed . . . ." Is this the Dostoevsky of the famous Pushkin speech, delivered in the last year of his life? Yes, but the words come from the programmatic statement that heralded the appearance of *Time* in 1861, 20 years earlier. Frank demonstrates far more continuity in Dostoevsky's views than is commonly suspected.

And not only in his views. That failed quasi-Dickensian potboiler, *The Insulted and Injured* (1861)—which brought tears to Nietzsche's eyes—turns out to adumbrate the thematic matrix of the great novels:

> What we can glimpse . . . through the interstices of the clichés, is a premature novel about a young writer who represents the "philanthropic" ideology of the 1840s, and whose world and life are shattered because his convictions prove inadequate to cope with the deeper forces of human passion and egoism.

Frank is particularly alert to the seeds of future work in the present he is examining, and he shows them in various stages of germination. The *Winter Notes on Summer Impressions* of 1863 (scandalously unavailable in English for years now) is important as an account of Dostoevsky's first trip to Western Europe, but even more important, in Frank's presentation, as a first tryout of the kind of persona and "dialogic" manner that would eventuate in *Notes from Underground* a year later.

As for Dostoevsky's politics, they were, in the beginning, by no means the reactionary ones routinely attributed to him. The position he sought to occupy with *Time* was one of canny, centrist independence. In its first year, Frank shows, the journal polemicized with "all the social-political ideologies in Russia"—radical left, liberal left, liberal center, and Slavophile—and Dostoevsky himself evinced "at least a sympathetic tolerance for the radical position." He had, after all, been one of them, and even now it was not their desire for thoroughgoing social change that he found unacceptable so much as their tactical impatience, which he saw as unrealistic and potentially dangerous. Nor was he hostile to the radicals as individuals. An instinctive if vague "democratic populist" himself, his hope was to moderate among the contending schools of thought.

All this was to change within a year. When *The Contemporary* turned from being a center of intellectual disaffection to being one of "active political agitation"—and began attacking Dostoevsky in coarse and philistine terms—any hope of compromise vanished. The atmosphere had become suddenly and totally politicized:

> It was no longer possible to continue to criticize radical ideas—no matter how respectfully, or with how many qualifications—without seeming to support the repressive measures of the government. To cease to argue with the radicals would have meant to abandon *Time*'s very reason for being; but to continue with the same editorial policy was to court disaster and even execration. The treacherous crosscurrents created by this new situation left very little room for maneuver, and Dostoevsky—perhaps still believing that his personal history, and the spirit of his recent work,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

would guard him against being taken as an advocate of reaction—persisted in speaking his mind as freely as in the past. He soon discovered, however, that words which previously might have been overlooked or shrugged off now provoked a fiercely hostile rejoinder.

Neutrality was no longer a viable option.

THE WAY Dostoevsky's complex attitude toward the leading radical positions and spokesmen turned gradually to overt hostility is a major theme of this installment. *The Stir of Liberation* might in fact have been called more accurately "The Pressure of Politics." Only two major works come in for analysis: *Notes from the House of the Dead*, the anomalous, quasi-fictional account of Dostoevsky's experience in a Siberian prison, and *Notes from Underground* (a book that, incredibly, went all but unnoticed by critics until the beginning of the 20th century). On the other hand, Frank gives generous attention to the events that followed in rapid succession after the emancipation of the serfs in 1861; to the personalities involved in those events; and to the fullness of Dostoevsky's evolving responses in his "minor" writings, neglected journalism, letters, and notebooks.

The situation he confronted was in good part the product of a sociological shift:

> the sensational advent on the Russian historical scene, in full force and as a dominating group, of a new generation of the intelligentsia largely different in social composition from the previous one and bringing with it a new set of ideas and values.

These are the *raznochinsty*, exemplified in life by Dobroliubov, Pisarev, and the unspeakable Antonovich, and in literature by the heroes of Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (1862) and Chernyshevsky's *What Is to be Done?* (1863)—supremely self-assured and brusquely aggressive ideologues of materialism and revolution. Frank gives detailed attention to them all, as well as to their mentors and antagonists in Dostoevsky's own generation, making us not merely understand but *feel* the issues that the age thrust on Dostoevsky, as well as the drama in the crushing of his hopes of playing the role of conciliator.

This is unquestionably the best account we have of Dostoevsky in his time. It is revisionist not in the sense that it challenges its predecessors directly (it doesn't), but because, being part historical chronicle, part literary history, part criticism, and part biography, it supersedes them by its sheer inclusiveness. Avoiding strong stylistic effects as it avoids scholarly polemics, the writing adjusts earlier views of its subject quietly and almost self-effacingly.

Nothing, for instance, is more familiar than the Dostoevskian notion that suffering is the only path to happiness; it first finds expression in *The Insulted and Injured* and recurs in all the later novels, as in the notebooks. Analyzing the remark in context, Frank shows once and for all that it refers not to economic or physical privation, or to any beliefs about cosmic account-balancing, but rather to "the process by which the ramparts of pride, egoism, and wounded self-esteem are battered down and the way left open for forgiveness and love. It is only in this sense that Dostoevsky will ever maintain 'suffering' to be a good." Similarly for that other ingredient of Dostoevskian writing, so often perversely interpreted: illogicality. It must be understood, Frank writes, not as

> a proof of error but [as] the indication of a conflict between what is said and what is actually meant; the error is for [Dostoevsky] a clue to something hidden and concealed under the idea that must be understood as its *real* meaning. . . . One of the most striking aspects of Dostoevsky's genius is his willingness to acknowledge *the relative human validity*, in concrete situations, of points of view with which he did not at all agree in other contexts, and to bring them to the most vivid and forceful artistic life.

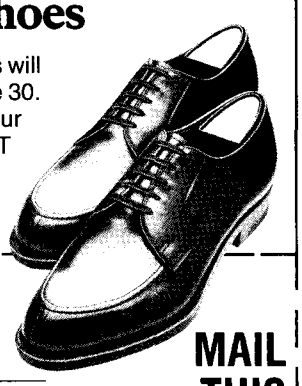
Notes from Underground is a case in point. Frank's basic argument is that the Underground Man, for all the brilliance of his polemic against Chernyshevsky's simplistic belief that science had made human behavior logically explainable and rationally determinable, actually accepts that belief with a reluctance verging on despair, in the same way that he accepts the stone wall or the product of two times two. More than merely a prisoner of the ideas he is attacking, he is their living parody.

This is a brilliant reading, but it is a simplification in its own right, I think, unless placed within a larger view that takes full account of what Frank acknowledges uneasily in passing: namely, the fact that Dostoevsky exceeded his intention here (as he was later to do in *The Devils*), dissolving its crude clarity in the complex ambiguity of art. It is useful to reconstruct that intention, but it does not follow that "then we must take the book for what it was initially meant to be." Why not take it for what it *is*? Frank does—and doesn't. On the same page that a footnote admits the way "Dostoevsky the novelist tended to overpower Dostoevsky the satirist" in *Notes from Underground*, the text insists that "the parodistic function of his character has always been obscured by the immense vitality of its artistic embodiment, and it has, paradoxically, been Dostoevsky's very genius for the creation of character that has most interfered with *the proper understanding* [my italics]" of the book.

This is an odd notion of "proper understanding," and it is symptomatic of a certain paradox underlying these remarkable volumes. Frank is quoted in

25 FREE PAIRS
Wright Arch Preserver® Shoes

Yes! A FREE pair of America's finest men's shoes will be given to 25 people who answer this ad by June 30. We will draw 25 names from those who send for our FREE catalog. Each will choose a pair of WRIGHT ARCH PRESERVER SHOES priced up to $149! Mail this coupon for FREE catalog and YOUR chance to win these famous shoes.



Executive Shoes, Dept. 517, Box E
Rockland, MA 02370
Enter me in the Free drawing, and send Free catalog of Wright Arch Preserver Shoes.

Name (PLEASE PRINT)
Address
City State Zip
Have you ever worn Wright Shoes? yes ☐ no ☐

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An almost unbelievable offer—but there's a reason!

Why would Haverhills "sell" this DL-323 Power Failure Light for only $12.95?*

But read the ad for an even more astonishing deal!

We are one of the largest national mail-order houses. In order to make our operation even more efficient, we need to increase our customer file by at least 25,000 names per month. The best way to do that is to make an almost irresistible offer of quality merchandise—or, as the Godfather put it, "an offer you can't refuse"

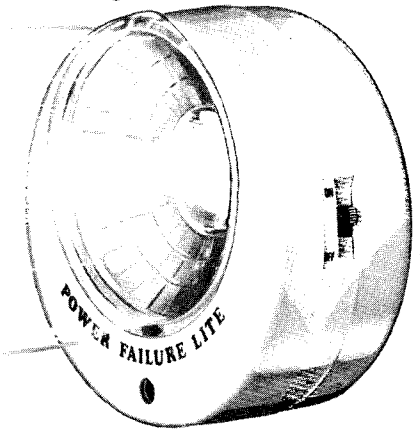
The *DL-323*: A Rechargeable 3-Way Power Failure Emergency Light

Because of our large buying power and agents all over the world, we have unlimited access to merchandise. And after scouring all sources, we decided that the *DL-323* would be such an irresistible offer, especially if we could "sell it" at a give-away price. At our special-offer price of $12.95, the *DL-323* is a "steal." You get these quality features:

- Plug into any 110-volt wall outlet. The *DL-323* will always be charged. Bypass circuitry avoids overcharge.
- Red LED serves as nightlight and shows that unit is on charge.
- If power fails, the *DL-323* turns on automatically. When power is restored, it reverts to the charging mode.
- Unplug the *DL-323* anytime and carry it as a convenient flashlight.
- Has folding plug, off/on switch.
- NiCd power cells for continuous recharging and highest performance.
- White high-impact designer body, 3" wide, 1½" deep.
- 1.5 watt bulb, easily replaced and obtainable anywhere.
- Faceted parabolic reflector for wide-beam illumination.
- Listed by Underwriters' Labs.

Every home should have *at least* one *Power Failure Light*. Many prefer to have one in every room of an apartment or on every floor of a house. You are not helpless—groping for candles or a flashlight that more likely than not has spent or corroded batteries. But the *DL-323* goes on when the power goes off and provides area illumination when you need it. You can remove the *DL-323* from its socket any time and use it as a bright broad-beam flashlight—it's always fully charged!

As for quality: don't let the low promotional price turn you off. The *DL-323*'s are made to highest quality standards. We warrant them for material and workmanship for one full year. And, of course, UL (Underwriters' Laboratories) wouldn't put *their* stamp of approval on them if they were not convinced of the quality.



The DL-323 is called "3-way" because it serves as a nightlight, flashlight, and area-illuminating power failure light.

Here is the deal.
Take advantage of it!

The *DL-323* is made to sell for $29.95 to $39.95. We ourselves have sold thousands at these prices. But with this special limited list-building offer, you may order this outstanding *Power Failure Light* for just $12.95.

Because this *is* a list-building promotion, we must limit this offer to a *maximum of three (3) Power Failure Lights per household.* You may, however, *request up to six (6) Power Failure Lights maximum if you mail your order within 30 days of the publication of this ad.* (No exceptions, please!) ***If you do buy six (6) DL-323 Power Failure Lights, you only pay for five (5)—the sixth one is with our compliments, absolutely FREE!*** With this offer, only mail orders, accompanied by check or money order (no chargecards, no phone orders!) can be accepted. Because of the special price, we cannot assure that the *DL-323's* will be available beyond 60 days from the publication of this ad.

Take advantage of this incredible buy—this totally unprecedented offer—while it is available. Write your name and address on a sheet of paper, and also write **"Code B894."** Tell us how many lights you want and include your check or money order. Add $2.95 postage/insurance for the first light and $5.90 for two to six lights. Add sales tax for California delivery. Mail to:

since 1967
haverhills
List Building Division, Dept. DL-323
131 Townsend Street
San Francisco, CA 94107

the *New York Times Book Review* for August 31, 1986, as saying: "The more I study [Dostoevsky's work], the more fascinated I am with his understanding, one which makes him almost more modern today than in his own time." Yet his whole enterprise aims at re-establishing the intricate relations between Dostoevsky and his own time, often to the exclusion of the "modernity" in question. Much of the time (and especially in this volume) Frank is historian first, historical critic second, and biographer (in most modern senses of that word) last.

The Dostoevsky who emerges from Frank's pages is a man far less singular, impassioned, extreme than he is usually conceived to be. And his circumstances often come across more vividly than his personality or temperament. In part, it must be said, this is a result of Frank's respect for the evidence—more precisely, for its absence in certain crucial areas, such as the intimate side of Dostoevsky's marriage or of his affair with the ardent young feminist Apollinaria Suslova. Where detailed and dramatic evidence *is* available, however—as in the case of Dostoevsky's own accounts of his compulsive gambling—Frank may choose not to cite it. No pawning of his pants or his wedding ring, no sitting famished in dark hotel rooms because he could not pay for food or candles, no abject appeals to editors or friends for money. "Far too much," Frank writes, has been made of all this in the (unnamed) "standard accounts of his life": the young Tolstoy gambled heavily; so did the poet Nekrasov. "Dostoevsky differed from them only [!] in not being able to afford his losses."

In such cases a kind of extremism may, after all, be finding a place in the picture, through a process of osmosis that lets Frank's own sovereign balance and reasonableness seep into the character he is recreating. The point is at least debatable. What is not is the unprecedented and magisterial nature of this ongoing enterprise, taken as a whole. Two volumes are still to come, dealing with the final 16 years of Dostoevsky's life and with all the major novels, from *Crime and Punishment* through *The Brothers Karamazov*.

DONALD FANGER

Donald Fanger teaches Slavic and comparative literature at Harvard University.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CAMBRIDGE DIARIST

Eloge

MY FATHER-IN-LAW, the American diplomat and international civil servant Henry Richardson Labouisse, had wandered far from New Orleans since he left almost 70 years ago. But when he died late in March, he returned to New Orleans and the embrace of his ancestors. Still, the public memorial service held a few days later at the Church of the Holy Trinity in New York ended, as Harry had wanted, with the singing of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," Julia Ward Howe's chant evoking Lincoln's civil religion and the mystique of Union. This was a strange choice, you might think, for someone who thought of himself as very much a Southerner. But even before the hymn, one of the eulogists had already commented on the contradictions of his nature: aristocrat and egalitarian, patriot and universalist, Democrat and yet scarcely partisan, idealist and man of practical deeds, along with more intimate antinomies.

LABOUISSE WAS A BIT younger than the "Wise Men," as a current book labels the founders of postwar American foreign policy. But from 1941 on, he worked with them, first in crafting the alliance against the Axis powers and then in organizing for the reconstruction of war-ravaged Europe. The State Department, where he quickly rose to be chief of the Eastern Hemisphere division, was then contained entirely in what is now the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House. A genuinely successful foreign policy apparently could be carried out by a few people. Or at least a few people of a certain type. I don't believe (nor did he) that there is a class born to conduct foreign relations. But sometimes reminiscing about the old days in the orbit of Henry Stimson, George Marshall, and Dean Acheson, he could make vivid for his listeners the kind of people required: those imbued with an ideal of selfless service that is not abundantly present in Ronald Reagan's Washington and in fact has been increasingly elusive for at least a generation.

HARRY'S DESTINY WAS fixed when he was sent to oversee American economic assistance to liberated France. It was as if he could no longer be satisfied pushing papers, even important papers, from behind a desk. His public life henceforth would be addressed to the relief of human suffering. Not that he was a Mother Teresa. He loved the pleasures of life too, as anyone who had ever seen his eyes roll when he was tasting a good wine could attest. But he wanted to give more than he took. This year is the 40th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, whose conception and operations, scholars tell me, bear the marks of his mind and influence. A few years back he came to Cambridge for a scholarly conference on Europe's postwar recovery, and seemed a bit baffled by the big fuss made about him there. But he must also have felt great satisfaction. What he had worked at, after all, was both down-to-earth and profound: he had helped feed the hungry and also secure the preconditions for the restoration of democracy. The achievements, shared to be sure, never went to his head.

FROM PARIS HE WENT to Beirut, where he served for four years as director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees, a job constrained by primordial passions more than most. If he was frustrated by this condition he never allowed it to deflect him from his conviction that the life of innocents must be enhanced—or saved—whatever the politics. Harry's record as a practical visionary in humanitarian aid and economic development made him the obvious choice for director of the old International Cooperation Administration for President Kennedy when he set about rationalizing U.S. foreign assistance programs. But some of the New Frontier's most humane foreign policy ideals fell afoul of both the old bureaucracy and the not yet discredited "best and brightest." So Chester Bowles was sent as ambassador to India and Harry to Greece. Could Byron have loved Greece as much as Harry did? I doubt it. In any case, the Greece Harry loved (and the Greece that loved him) was not of the poet's imagining, the Hellas of Pericles, or of its fast-living shipping tycoons. It was the country of poor peasants eking out a living off harsh soil. And he certainly never befriended the colonels who later came to power with the collusion of one of his successors. A Greek friend told me once that in the years of the junta the image of America was sustained for many Greeks by the memory of Harry's years in our embassy.

FOR A DECADE and a half Harry was executive director of UNICEF, which he turned from a relatively straightforward deliverer of emergency supplies into a force for systematic development in nutrition, health, and economic self-sufficiency. The contempt with which world opinion came increasingly to view the U.N. never extended to UNICEF. Against long odds, he shielded it from politicization and rhetorical excess, which is why, almost alone among international relief agencies, it was ultimately able to rescue millions on both sides of the Vietnam War lines, in Nigeria proper and in secessionist Biafra, and in Cambodia during the man-made famine. Immune to blandishment and intimidation and never taken in by the windbag symphony that sometimes is called statesmanship, he knew the meaning of his vocation. The International Year of the Child, which he supervised, did not, like other grandiose U.N.-sponsored fests, conclude with a lavish and pointless international jamboree in some impoverished Third World capital spruced up for the occasion.

THIS SCION OF settlers and Signers, who moved easily among the powerful and exercised power decisively, had an uncanny and concrete understanding of the life of misery and powerlessness. This was a triumph of his moral imagination. Of course, the family that remains remembers the dead always somewhat differently, with more complexity and poignancy than even his closest friends. This is true for his wife, Eve Curie, for his daughter who is my wife, and for our children who are his grandchildren. It is true also for me about whom, I am sure, he had misgivings. We did differ and even, on occasion, quarrel, always, I have to confess, at my provocation. There is an old Jewish legend that the Lord has rested the burdens of the world on the shoulders of 36 just men and women. I am convinced that Harry Labouisse was one of those 36. And that at his passing the Lord has experienced inordinate difficulties in finding a replacement.

M. P.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"SHE'S THE KIND OF WOMAN WHO'S ALWAYS TURNING HEADS. I SET THE SAME CRITERION FOR HER DIAMOND."

Every quality diamond of a carat or more is one of nature's rarest and most exquisite phenomena—with more fire, more sparkle and scintillation.

Each is a visible reflection of you. Unique in all the world, possessing four characteristics that set it apart forever. They are called the 4©'s: Cut, Color, Clarity and Carat-weight. These determine the value of a diamond—and to an astonishing degree, the beauty and value of your jewelry.

Your jeweler is the expert where diamonds are concerned. His knowledge can help make the acquisition of a quality diamond of a carat or more the beautiful, rewarding experience it should be.

A diamond is forever.

The ring shown features a quality diamond of 2.03 carats. For more information please call 1-800-421-8208 in CA 1-800-252-0262

A CARAT OR MORE. EXTRAORDINARY DIAMONDS FOR EXTRAORDINARY WOMEN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED